AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER

FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1993

75¢ ($1.00 CANADIAN)

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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VOL. 85, NO. 118

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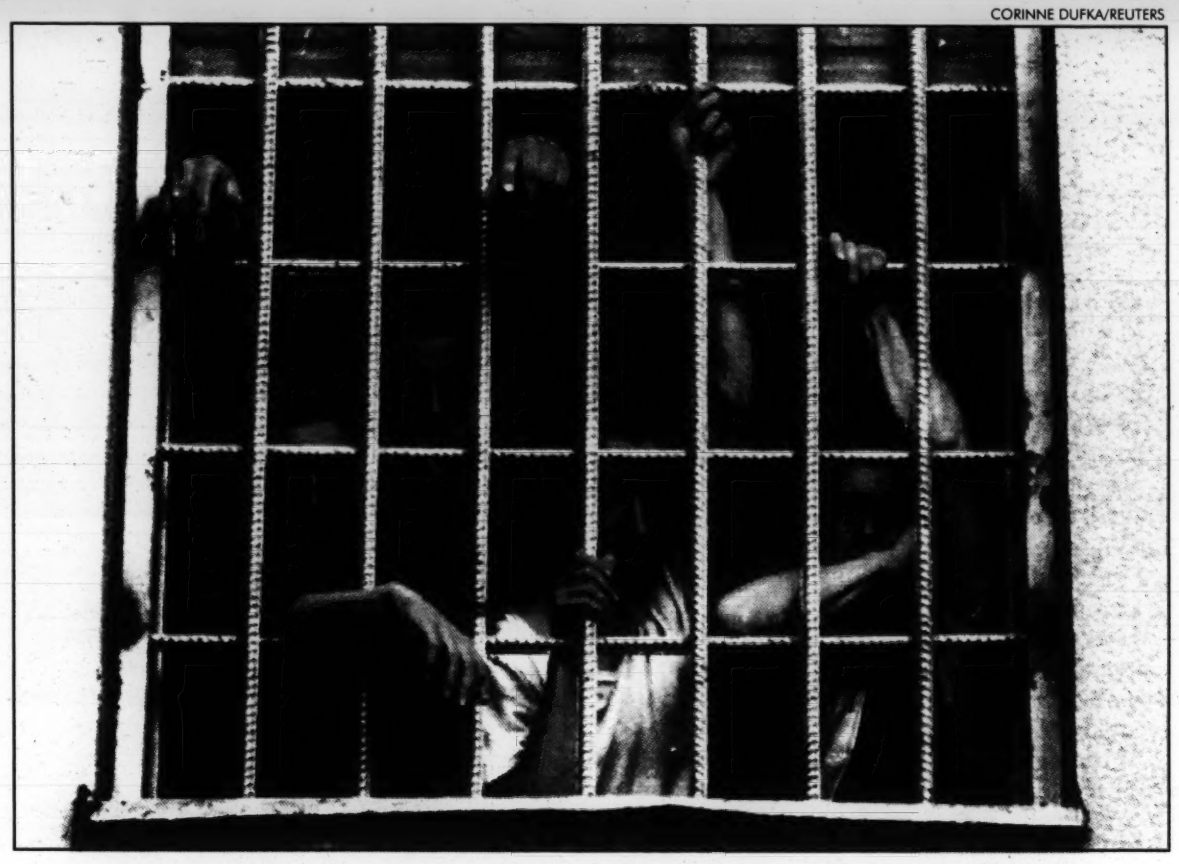

Bosnia-Herzegovina, to Some Europeans, Is a Lost Cause
European leaders lack public support for Balkan intervention and may be resigned to a Serb conquest. Above, Bosnian Muslims, now under attack by Croatians, peer out of a detention center in Mostar, Bosnia. **PAGE 3.**

Clinton Finds Capital's Waltz Hard to Master

Handling of budget, Bosnia, gays in military raises questions about White House's focus

By Marshall Ingwerson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

TO the Clinton White House, a veteran Democrat who supports the president laments, Washington, D.C., means "just three electoral votes."

But a lack of savvy in wielding power and moving his agenda inside the legendary Beltway – a failing now widely acknowledged in both parties – is exacting a cost. Mr. Clinton is having trouble mustering support.

"Welcome to the National Football League," says Republican lobbyist Tom Korologos, suggesting that Clinton is not quite ready for the big time.

This week, Clinton moved back into full campaign mode and hit the road Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday to pitch his economic plan. Yet the national news was dominated Monday and Tuesday by Democratic Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn's hearings on the ban on gays in the military.

Senator Nunn wielded the focus of the national press like a flashlight, training it on Norfolk Navy Base on Monday and then on Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, the Gulf war hero who favors upholding the ban. "Nunn knows how Washington works and how to use power here," says Democratic lobbyist Victor Kamber. "Clinton is still learning how to use power in Washington."

By midweek, some senators were reporting growing support for a Nunn-backed compromise position. Clinton opposes it.

The president has had similar problems rallying both European allies and congressmen behind his tougher Bosnia policy. He moved out ahead of the Europeans and US public opinion in threatening military action, found they were not following, and backed off.

All signs indicate the president

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Milosevic Faces Battle of Wills With His Serb Proxies in Bosnia

By Jonathan S. Landay
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BELGRADE

PRESIDENT Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia is embroiled in the toughest political challenge of his six-year rule as he tries to force the Bosnian Serbs to accept the international peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Seeking to end stifling international sanctions and insulate Serbia from possible foreign military intervention, Mr. Milosevic has increased pressure on the Bosnian Serbs. But never before has the Serbian strongman encountered such defiance among those he has nurtured to do his bidding. His decision to take a hard line against his Bosnian proxies has produced repercussions in Serbia that could lead to new instability.

"Milosevic is polarizing the Serbs," says Ratomir Tonic, a leader of the Civic Alliance, a small but influential coalition of liberal opposition parties. Most analysts do not believe, however, that Mr. Milosevic's grip on power is threatened, given that he apparently still commands the loyalty of the Yugoslav Army, the police, the bureaucracy, and the media.

For that reason, Milosevic will ratchet up the pressure on the Bosnian Serbs with an unprecedented meeting summoned for today between the Yugoslav parliament, and the Serbian and Montenegrin legislatures. The self-proclaimed

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Rising Yen Pummels Japan, Leads to 'Reverse Imports'

By Clayton Jones
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

TOKYO

AS economists debate the impact on Japan of the yen's record high rate against the dollar, Honda Motor Corporation has already made a historic decision: It plans to stop exporting its Accord model to the United States.

In fact, the yen's 16 percent rise in value over the past year has led the carmaker to actually increase imports into Japan from its American assembly plants.

Honda's "reverse imports," as they are misnamed, have now become the bestselling "foreign" car in Japan, beating Mercedes and other European models.

That's just what Washington would like to see: Japan turning away from promotion of its giant export machine and developing a strong domestic market among Japanese consumers, who have been long deprived of the wealth of their own nation.

President Clinton and Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen have effectively "jawboned" the dollar down in value against the yen in recent weeks, hoping to reduce the $49 billion US-Japan trade imbalance by making American products cheaper in Japan.

Of all Japan's leading industries, carmakers will be the hardest hit by the yen's rapid ap-

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Next Week in the Monitor

- After Hurricane Andrew 'wiped the slate' in south Florida, the area gained an opportunity to rebuild with careful planning. **Monday.**
- From incense to oil: Yemen, unified and increasingly democratic, is poised for renewal. A Points of the Compass feature. **Wednesday.**
- Hispanic Americans – diverse communities with many national origins – are moving into the United States mainstream. **Friday.**

China's Accelerating Economy
Leaders have started to hit the brakes, but some observers worry inflation will spin out of control.
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Those low-profile baseball scorekeepers can have a big impact on high-priced careers.
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CONTROVERSY OVER DEFICIT TRUST FUND

Republicans derided President Clinton's plan to funnel money from future taxes and spending cuts into a new deficit-reduction trust fund as a "gimmick" designed to distract attention from his proposed tax hikes. But Labor Secretary Robert Reich said yesterday it would be an "insurance policy. It will be very difficult to do anything else with that money because it's very visible...." The president's proposal, unveiled Wednesday, draws on his experience in Arkansas, where he set up a trust fund to pay for education. But even Mr. Clinton concedes that the federal trust fund would not reduce the deficit any more than is already planned. (Clinton stumbles, Page 1.)

Miami boycott ends

An economic boycott launched by Miami's black leaders against south Florida's tourism industry ended Wednesday, nearly three years after local politicians infuriated the black community by snubbing South African anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela. The boycott is estimated to have cost south Florida $50 million in tourism revenue.

Loan reform advances

President Clinton's call for the government to take full control of the college loan program won its first test in Congress. The House Education and Labor Committee on Wednesday endorsed the proposal, which calls for the government to make direct loans to students rather than guaranteeing them through commercial financial institutions. The measure goes next to the Budget Committee, which could send it to the House floor as part of an overall budget bill.

Agreement with Seoul

Vietnam and South Korea signed agreements on air services, trade, and investment yesterday, granting each other most-favored-nation treatment. The agreements, signed in Seoul by Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam and his Korean counterpart, Han Sung-joo, paved the way for the two former adversaries to bolster economic relations.

A whale of a ruling

Japan failed yesterday to crack a commercial whaling ban when its request for a limited catch was decisively turned down by the International Whaling Commission. Tokyo had pushed hard for the emergency one-time allocation of 50 minke whales, arguing that whaling was an "integral part" of its culture.

Italy lifts immunity

Italy's Senate yesterday lifted the parliamentary immunity of former Premier Giulio Andreotti, allowing prosecutors to investigate accusations that he had Mafia ties. Mr. Andreotti, a political leader for four decades, decided last week to stop resisting efforts to lift his immunity.

Opposition to Yeltsin

President Boris Yeltsin's opponents mounted a court challenge to his proposed constitution yesterday and accused him of trying to establish a dictatorship. Opposition lawmakers voted overwhelmingly to ask the Constitutional Court, which is often hostile to Yeltsin, to decide whether the new constitution can be adopted without parliamentary approval. Yeltsin has summoned a national convention June 5-10.

– Compiled by Max Boot

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INTERNATIONAL

Guerrillas Put Cambodians' Focus On Violence Instead of Elections

UN officials vow vote will proceed despite Khmer Rouge attacks

By Kathy Chenault
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

DAMDEK, CAMBODIA

A KHMER Rouge terror campaign to disrupt upcoming elections is claiming victims young and old in this northern region of Cambodia, where villagers have been killed by shelling, children wounded in crossfire, and streets become deserted after dark.

Beyond the anxiety and dangers local residents and international peacekeepers face, the terror campaign by the radical guerrillas is jeopardizing the $2 billion United Nations peace mission in Cambodia.

Scores of UN election volunteers have resigned, and questions have been raised about whether a legitimate election can be held in this climate of fear.

In regions such as Damdek, where people live under constant threat of Khmer Rouge attack, Cambodians are thinking more about violence these days than the ballot scheduled for May 23-27, which is intended to help stabilize the country after 20 years of war and social chaos.

Violence has come from both sides. People loyal to the government have murdered opposition party members and carried out widespread intimidation of those registered to vote, trying to ensure victory for the leadership installed in 1979 by the Vietnamese, who had invaded to oust the Khmer Rouge.

The ruling party, feeling confident of victory at the polls, has apparently eased its intimidation, so the primary concerns now focus on the increasing guerrilla attacks.

In the past two weeks, ambushes on UN convoys, a daring daylight assault by the Khmer Rouge on the strategic city of Siem Reap, and attacks on villages near Khmer Rouge strongholds have heightened fears that the Cambodian peace process is nearing collapse. Since the UN mission began a little more than a year ago, 56 members of the UN operation have been killed or injured in attacks, 40 of those in the past six weeks. And that is only a fraction of the total casualties; few attacks on Cambodians are reported.

Nonetheless, Gen. John Sanderson of Australia, commander of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), expresses confidence the elections will be held and said the UN military contingent will not back down in the face of attacks and threats. "Certainly we will fight back if attacked and fight much stronger," he says.

Meanwhile, UN officials are girding for more violence, closing polling sites near Khmer Rouge-dominated areas and requiring personnel to travel in armed convoys in the countryside. Soldiers in many areas are digging more bunkers, or in the case of Bangladeshi troops with the UNTAC contingent in Siem Reap, paying villagers to dig for them. (The villagers' going rate is $15.)

Following an appeal for international aid to help the UN force bolster security, the United States on May 12 flew in 6,500 flak jackets, 10,000 helmets, emergency medical supplies, and flares. Australia plans to provide six Blackhawk helicopters supported by 100 soldiers, and Malaysia was expected to help with air support.

Uncertainty over Khmer Rouge strategy in the build-up to the elections has escalated fears of widespread violence. At the time of the Siem Reap attack, ambushes and raids were reported daily in several provinces, but in recent days the situation has been relatively calm.

UN military observers have detected Khmer Rouge forces massing in many parts of the country. But it is unclear if the aim is to have forces poised for attacks on polling sites or to wait until after the election and renew the civil war that ravaged Cambodia for 13 years before the government and three opposition factions signed a peace agreement in Paris in 1991.

The Khmer Rouge, which imposed authoritarian rule and agrarian reforms in the 1970s that claimed a million lives, has pulled out of the Paris Peace Accord and pledged to disrupt the elections. UN officials say the guerrilla attacks and threats are intended to keep people from voting and remind the government that the guerrilla group still must be taken seriously as a political force despite pulling out of the peace plan.

Even though top UN officials have vowed the elections will proceed, some concede the Khmer Rouge has the capability of causing widespread disruptions with the goal of raising questions over the legitimacy of the voting.

"If they are present sufficiently widely – and they are a guerrilla force which obviously has the capability of movement – and they carry out attacks which are concentrated enough and consistent enough," says Reginald Austin, of Zimbabwe, head of UNTAC's electoral component, "they can stop the elections."

Japan's Socialists Discard Socialism

TOKYO

JAPAN'S Social Democratic Party yesterday adopted a draft platform that abandons socialism, and recognizes the South Korean government and a key security treaty with the United States.

"We are trying to create a Japanese version of Western democratic socialism," said party Secretary-General Hirotaka Akamatsu.

The draft platform was submitted to the executive committee for approval later in the year. The document is expected to spark criticism from party hard-liners. Political analysts say the Socialists need to discard four key policies to become electable, including their view of Japan's military as violating the postwar Constitution, their vow to scrap all nuclear power plants, and their rejection of the US-Japan Security Treaty and the 1965 normalization treaty with South Korea.

The draft declaration says the party will recognize the two treaties. It will no longer regard the military as unconstitutional but will call for a reduction of its strength. Nuclear power plants will also be allowed until safer sources of energy are found, it said.

The Socialists have been the main opposition party in parliament but have never seriously threatened the rule of the Liberal Democrats.

– Reuters

European leaders have resigned themselves to a Serb conquest in Bosnia, analysts say

Behind US's Scuttled Bosnia Plan

By Howard LaFranchi
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

PARIS

"IF you were afraid of a [Western] military intervention, you can breathe easy," the voice on Bosnian Serb television told its audience this week. "President Clinton has decided to put Bosnia aside and return to domestic political issues because the European Community refused the military option."

With some voices in Europe and the United States trading sharp charges over responsibility for the failure to arrive at a united Western position on Bosnia, the Bosnian Serb statement has the virtue of getting to the point.

Underlying the Western failure is US ambiguity over taking on a foreign mission in a complex conflict, and European paralysis in the face of a war it would rather see contained than running the risk of escalation into something larger.

"The Europeans, alas, have concluded that for Bosnia it is too late," says Dominique Moïsi, deputy director of the French Institute for Foreign Relations. "They are afraid to launch into something they wouldn't be able to control, and so they have resigned themselves" to a Serbian victory.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher's inability last week to line up European capitals behind a two-step US proposal for limited military intervention resulted in part from the fluidity of events in Bosnia during Mr. Christopher's visit. The Clinton administration proposed beginning with bombing of strategic Serb positions until the Bosnian Muslims could be armed to adequately defend themselves.

But at the root of the transatlantic dissonance are strong European concerns about where military intervention might lead. French Foreign Ministry officials speak of "avoiding an Afghanistan across the Adriatic from Italy" and "the dangers of sliding into World War III."

In addition, Europeans interpreted the US plan as options to be discussed and not as Clinton's policy – and, importantly, as options that do not even enjoy broad US public support.

"If the Americans came with a clear plan and said, 'This is what must be done, follow us," the Europeans would say 'yes,' " Mr. Moïsi says. "But that is not what they came here with." That leaves the doubt for many Europeans that the US wants to be followed.

As one observer summarized in the Paris daily Libération, "The war in ex-Yugoslavia is above all a European affair, and Clinton would have had trouble finding the political support to wage a war in Europe that Europe doesn't want to fight."

Yet despite longstanding European reluctance toward military steps, a window to agreement on military steps appeared to open after the self-proclaimed Bosnian "parliament" rejected the UN- and EC-brokered Vance-Owen Bosnia peace plan May 6. European leaders had been publicly very clear before Christopher arrived in their opposition to lifting the arms embargo to allow rearming the Muslims, and only slightly more open to air strikes.

British government sources say that decision, coming after Christopher's visit to London and Paris, left the British (and probably the French) without a fig leaf and feeling more or less bound to supporting air strikes.

It was at this point that the British looked for the lead from Clinton they had told Christopher they needed, the sources say.

Christopher, on the other hand, in publicly calling after the Vance-Owen rejection for "tougher measures," appears to have interpreted the Bosnian Serbs' decision as enough in and of itself to muster European support.

But without the kind of US demands for action that they felt were necessary, the Europeans by May 9 had repaired their fig leaves and regained arguments against military intervention. Serbian President and Bosnian Serb supply-man Slobodan Milosevic provided some of the cover for European foot-dragging by condemning the Bosnian Serb decision and pledging to cut off supplies.

'Rift? What rift?'

European leaders continue to insist that there is no rift with the US over Bosnia. If anything, Clinton's statements this week that the US might consider assigning troops to Macedonia to prevent the conflict from spreading there, or to the Serb-Bosnian border to control the flow of military supplies, are movements toward the European point of view.

At a meeting this week, EC foreign ministers called on the US and Russia to join European troops already on the ground in Bosnia as UN peacekeeping "blue helmets." French officials say the EC request reflects a conviction that having the "big boys" on the ground would constitute a formidable restraint for further Serbian military action.

Need for US troops on ground

Some observers theorize, however, that the Europeans see having US troops on the ground as the best means of foreclosing the military option. Both France and Britain have well-founded concerns about the effect military intervention might have on their troops in the former Yugoslavia. The US would think twice about dropping bombs, they believe, if their soldiers were on the ground.

French officials now say that "barring new tragic events" the policy of tough sanctions against Serbia, enforcing the UN-mandated safe areas for Muslims, and holding Mr. Milosevic to his estrangement from the Bosnian Serbs until they accept Vance-Owen, should be followed for now. And they continue to insist that all options, including pulling out the "blue helmets" to make way for military intervention, remain open.

But many here say Vance-Owen is virtually dead, and that the future for Bosnia holds more of what it has experienced over the past year.

"We're going to witness the same, unless some moral indignation pushes the Americans to come," Moïsi says. "Otherwise there will just be more conquests to accept and turn away from."

■ *Alexander Macleod in London contributed to this report.*

PIERRE VERDY/AFP

SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY. *US Secretary of State Warren Christopher, left, met with French Premier Edouard Balladur in Paris May 4 in an effort to gain support for US plans of military intervention in Bosnia. He came up empty..*

British Want Investigation Of Royal 'Bugs'

By Alexander MacLeod
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON

LEADING British politicians are asking that the country's intelligence services be put under parliamentary control and demanding an investigation of claims that Queen Elizabeth and her family are the subjects of routine electronic eavesdropping.

The calls follow publication in newspapers here of the transcript of an alleged conversation between the Prince and Princess of Wales, shortly before their marriage broke up late last year.

The reports say that the couple's angry exchange about the future custody of their two children had been recorded electronically by MI5, the British security service.

Despite firm denials by Home Secretary Kenneth Clarke that MI5 had been involved in the bugging, members of Parliament called for an inquiry.

Tony Blair, a Labour Party parliamentarian who monitors the security services, suggested that a parliamentary committee be created to supervise MI5, which is responsible for external security.

He received strong support from Rupert Allason, a Conservative parliamentarian, who has written widely about espionage.

Mr. Allason said it was "extremely difficult" to obtain information from the government on security matters.

Government embarrassment at the publication of the transcript deepened when a prominent journalist, James Whitaker, said he was "totally unsurprised" that the conversation of the prince and princess had been recorded by the security services.

Mr. Whitaker, whose book on the royal marriage breakup was due to appear this week, said, "The entire family is regularly bugged, from the Queen down." He said the transcript was in his book and alleged that it had been "lifted" without his permission.

Further confusion was added when Buckingham Palace said that official royal diaries indicated that Charles and Diana had not been together when the alleged conversation was said to have taken place.

As well as stirring debate about control of the security services, the uproar over publication of the transcript has put added pressure on Prime Minister John Major to introduce official curbs on media abuse.

Clive Soley, a parliamentarian who wants the government to back a bill guaranteeing a right of privacy to citizens, said: "The Sun [newspaper] has published a private conversation. It has gone too far. Something must be done to prevent such excesses."

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would rather steer public attention to other subjects altogether. But his economic plan is also hitting a rough patch on Capitol Hill. Members of Congress are growing assertive in picking at elements in Clinton's energy tax, which is the major revenue raiser in his economic plan.

"I think the administration – never having written a tax bill – doesn't realize that you have to get supporters out there," Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D) of Illinois, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, told reporters Wednesday.

'Nunn knows how Washington works and how to use power here. Clinton is still learning....'
– Democrat Victor Kamber

Even as Mr. Rostenkowski spoke, Clinton was in New York promoting a new confidence-building measure. He proposed putting all the money brought in by the tax increases and saved by the spending cuts in his economic plan into a trust fund dedicated to reducing the deficit.

The idea plays to the greater willingness of the public to raise taxes if the proceeds are dedicated to a clear purpose. It also follows a recent shift in Clinton's rhetoric toward stressing the more conservative side of his plan – the spending cuts and deficit reduction.

Republican leaders are not buying it. Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas called it "just a gimmick.... The American people don't care where new taxes go. They don't want them, period."

The White House has not been winning these rhetorical battles to set the terms of debate lately. Part of his problem is holding the attention of the press.

During the week Clinton proposed his economic plan on Feb. 17, he followed up the speech with four days of campaigning. According to Andrew Tyndall, publisher of the Tyndall Report, which monitors network news coverage, Clinton's plan received "saturation coverage" of 115 minutes out of 312 total minutes of evening news time. But during the next 11 weeks, his plan drew only 94 minutes of coverage, compared with 161 minutes for the health-care task force.

Meanwhile, Republican critics led by Senator Dole won the battle to define the stimulus package not as a jobs bill – as Clinton would have it – but as a spending measure.

"I don't think people understand whatever Clinton is thinking. He has no clear message," says political scientist George Edwards III of Texas A&M University in College Station, Texas. With a lot of ideas and no clear direction, he says, "you've got a laundry-list presidency."

Clinton is widely criticized both for lack of sustained attention span and discipline in selling his program to the public, but also for not bringing members of Congress, including key Republicans, along in developing legislation. The White House is still in some respects run like a campaign, reacting day-to-day to events, sometimes aggressively. But a long-term legislative strategy of the kind developed in the Reagan White House is not apparent.

Political scientist Stephen Wayne of Georgetown University sees a crucial lack of political timing in this White House. One key of presidential leadership is to frame an issue for public debate, then wait until it is ripe for action. "They lack political sophistication, the sense of when to strike and what you're supposed to do," he says.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR®
An International Daily Newspaper
Founded in 1908 By Mary Baker Eddy

(ISSN 0882-7729) (ISSN 0896-551X World Edition) Published daily except Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, MA, USA, 02115. An activity of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts. Marcas Registradas.

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SUBSCRIPTIONS: In the U.S. and Canada, call toll-free 1-800-456-2220 or write The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA 50340-1202. In the UK call 081-543-9393 or write The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England.
Subscription Rates: Daily edition (US only) – 1 year $156, single copy 75¢. Daily edition (UK only) – 1 year $333.30 (£206.65), single copy 80 pence. Daily edition (outside US and UK) – 1 year US$175. World Edition (weekly, not available in the US) – 1 year US$75, single copy US$1.50.
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assemblies of the Belgrade-backed Serbian forces in Croatia and Bosnia, though also summoned, have decided not to attend.

The so-called All-Serb Assembly is expected to approve a resolution calling on the Bosnian Serbs to accept the peace plan authored by mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen.

The resolution would represent another salvo in an intense propaganda campaign the Milosevic-controlled state media have launched against the Bosnian Serbs and their domestic supporters. "Serbia desperately needs peace in Bosnia," Milosevic asserted in an interview with the official Tanjug news agency on May 11.

He reiterated that Serbia and its tiny dependent, Montenegro, no longer possess the resources to sustain the Bosnian Serbs. The 11-month-old UN economic sanctions on the rump Yugoslav union, which were tightened last month, have had a devastating impact. Justifying his decision of the previous week to cut off all but humanitarian supplies to the Bosnian Serbs, Milosevic said: "The interests of 10 million citizens in Serbia should be of primary importance."

Milosevic "is trying to survive. Without his latest effort to behave as a peacemaker, he would be facing a very hard time in the case of military intervention," says Stefan Niksic, a commentator with Belgrade's Nin magazine. "I would assume that he could not politically survive that."

For its part, the Bosnian Serb leadership has remained defiant, unwilling to accept the peace plan because it defeats the goal that Milosevic originally set for them: Securing a self-declared state that they could join to rump Yugoslavia.

Bosnian Serb leaders, rather than attending Milosevic's Serb gathering, have reaffirmed their determination to hold a referendum this weekend that is all but certain to sustain its rejection of the Vance-Owen peace plan.

Ironically, neither the referendum nor the gathering of lawmakers has any formal legitimacy. The former is not authorized by the Vance-Owen plan and has been dismissed by the international community as meaningless, while the latter lacks any constitutional or legal foundation.

Nevertheless, both have taken on considerable political significance. "This is a political game in which all means are used to achieve political goals," Mr. Niksic says. "Milosevic is a man who does not give up easily."

IN advance of the Serb gathering, Milosevic has been meeting with the chiefs of the legislative delegations. He reportedly is exploring the possibility of forming a government of "national salvation" with his opponents to defend against an expected challenge from the Bosnian Serbs' domestic supporters.

The ultranationalist Serbian Radical Party (SRS) in Bosnia has provided the legislative support Milosevic's Socialist Party of Serbia (SRP) needed to maintain minority governments at both the Yugoslav federal level and in Serbia. But SRS chief Vojislav Seselj has expressed outrage over Milosevic's endorsement of the Vance-Owen plan and could withdraw his support, forcing new elections in which the SPS could be threatened.

Only by drawing opposition parties into a coalition could Milosevic avoid early polls. "What he has been doing is trying to build a new political base in Serbia," a Western diplomat says.

Analysts see no guarantee that Milosevic will succeed. The SRS controls the second largest shares of seats in the federal and Serbian legislatures and some opposition parties are totally unwilling to do business with the Serbian leader.

Even if he does tackle his domestic challengers, Milosevic still may have to take stronger action to force the Bosnian Serbs to sign the plan. That may mean allowing deployment of international observers on Serbia's border.

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preciation, according to officials at Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI).

Compared with the last dramatic hike in the yen eight years ago, the damage will be more severe this time. The difference is that market demand for automobiles in the US, Japan, and Europe is much weaker.

MITI officials estimate that Japan's five leading carmakers have lost a total of about $318 million in car sales for every one-yen rise against the dollar. So far, that amounts to a $7 billion loss over the year that the yen has strengthened from 133 to its present range of 111 against the dollar.

First-ever subsidies

For the first time, Japan's Labor Ministry will provide government subsidies to the auto industry to help it "readjust" (early retirement, reassignments, but few actual layoffs) its bloated work force. Such subsidies began for many other industries after the 1973-74 oil shock.

With about 20 percent of Japan's economy relying directly or indirectly on vehicle manufacturing, losses from the yen appreciation could leave the economy stuck in a recession that has already lasted almost a year.

"In 1985, 25 percent of Japan's total imports were manufactured goods. Today it is 55 percent," Paul Summerville, senior economist with Jardine Fleming Securities in Tokyo. "So, a lot of people are saying, 'Great, the yen's strong, it will be really wonderful for Japan.' But the high yen is a curse, it's not a blessing." He argues that the high yen prevents Japan from boosting its exports to counter the slump in demand for goods at home.

A stalled economy also would further depress imports and thus increase the trade surplus, leading to yet more pressure from Washington to push up the yen, causing an even longer recession.

"Japan is facing a vicious cycle," says Geoffrey Barker, economist at Baring Securities (Japan) Ltd. The solution, he says, depends on how much Japanese officials deregulate the economy – especially to free up capital flows and spur domestic demand to help recycle the trade surplus.

The reduced imports, especially for luxuries such as Van Gogh paintings and Gucci fashion goods, has resulted in a record surplus in Japan's current account (a broad measure of international dealings). In the fiscal year that ended March 31, the surplus hit $126 billion, up 40 percent from the previous year.

After the 1985 yen appreciation, Japan's exporters went on an overseas investment binge, building factories in Asia, Europe, and the US, and buying up assets such as Columbia Pictures and the Rockefeller Center.

Overseas investment surged nearly sixfold from 1985 to 1989. Since then, such investment has declined steadily, with a 28 percent falloff in the last fiscal year, as Japan's economic "bubble" slowly imploded.

Governments intervene

When the yen recently dipped below 110 to the dollar, both the US Treasury and the Bank of Japan decided that it had fallen far enough, and intervened in currency markets. Japanese officials had openly scolded US officials, including President Clinton, for making comments that had pushed up the yen. At the same time, US officials were less than impressed with Japan's $113 billion stimulus package unveiled last month.

So far, Japanese consumers are not seeing cheaper imports, bringing criticism against importers for allegedly pocketing "windfall" profits caused by the yen's sky-high rise. Okuro Ishikawa, chairman of the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, says his group will probe the issue.

MITI has threatened to expose foreign companies that charge higher prices for their goods in Japan than elsewhere. It did not threaten Japanese companies that do the same.

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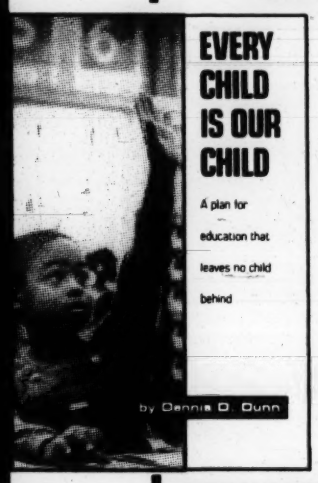

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AN IMPETUOUS NATIONAL SYMBOL

Once a Hawk, Now a Dove Weizman Takes Israel Helm

By Peter Ford
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JERUSALEM

EZER WEIZMAN'S first task as Israel's president – the largely ceremonial job he took over yesterday – will be especially trying.

On Sunday Mr. Weizman, whose radical political views and notoriously loose tongue make him an unlikely new figurehead for the Jewish state, will address the right-wing opposition Likud Party's convention. Weizman defected noisily from the Likud in 1980, saying the party was uninterested in peace.

What's more, Likud is holding the meeting on the Golan Heights, to underline its opposition to giving up the territory in the Middle East peace talks. Weizman believes Israel should return the Heights to Syrian rule.

But he has promised not to say so. For the time being, at least, he will restrain his urge to influence the peace process and respect the presidential tradition of staying out of politics.

No one who knows him, however, expects him to do so for long. "It's not a question of whether he can or can't express his political opinions as president," says Susan Hattis Rolef, editor of the Labor Party magazine Spectrum. "He simply will."

"There will be never a dull moment with Ezer as president," predicts former president Yitzhak Navon.

A scion of the Zionist aristocracy – his uncle Chaim Weizman was Israel's first president – Ezer Weizman has always enjoyed a high profile. He grew up in a wealthy family, rather than in the puritanical atmosphere of the Labor pioneers, and first developed his flamboyant style as a fighter pilot during World War II with the British Royal Air Force.

He helped found the Israeli Air Force, rising to become its commander. He was deputy military chief of staff during the 1967 Six-Day War. Retiring in 1969, he jumped straight into the leadership of Menachem Begin's Likud, and held a Cabinet position in the post-war national unity government. Eight years later, he masterminded the 1977 election campaign that made Begin prime minister.

As defense minister during the Camp David peace talks with Egypt in 1978-79, Weizman encouraged Begin to take risks. It was during those negotiations that the former Air Force hawk became a convinced dove, though some see the roots of his conversion in the 1973 war with Egypt and Syria.

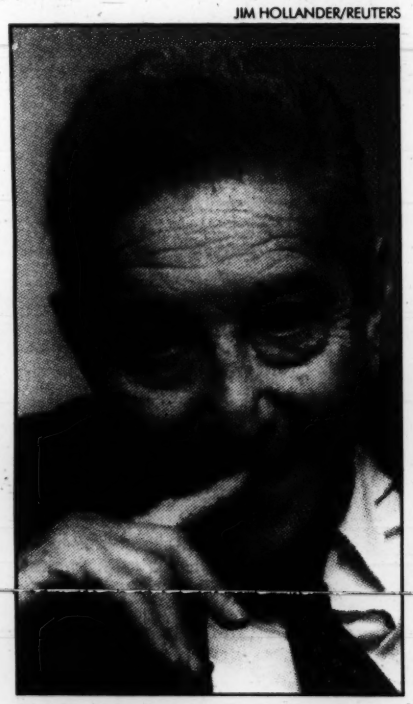
That war made him begin to think that only a political solution would ensure Israel's security. His only son was disabled by a sniper's bullet. "He was ready for the idea that war was obsolete, and that the only solution lay in negotiations," says Yael Dayan, his niece, who is a Labor member of the Knesset (parliament).

Storming out of the Likud government in 1980 – he felt it was dragging its feet on peace – Weizman eventually joined the Labor Party, and served in minor Cabinet posts in subsequent governments. But his career has been based more on personality than political skill.

If Weizman's charm and self confidence are seen as assets for his new post, his impetuosity looms large. "If ever someone was unsuited for a job it's this guy," says Zeev Chafets, who worked under Weizman on Begin's 1977 campaign. "Presidents are meant to be boring, stuffy, and mainstream, and none of those adjectives apply to Weizman."

Constitutionally, the Israeli president has the power only to pardon prisoners and decide who to ask to form the government after elections, a choice almost always dictated by the election results.

JIM HOLLANDER/REUTERS



EZER WEIZMAN: *Some worry he isn't boring enough to take on Israel's ceremonial presidency.*

But as the symbol of the state, "the president can play a tremendous role in forging one nation out of all the different sorts of people here," says Mr. Navon, president from 1978 to 1983. On political issues, Navon says, "that means a president has to stay within the consensus of about 80 percent of the Knesset, and not get involved in party conflicts."

Weizman's views – such as support for a Palestinian state – are well outside the Israeli consensus. Critics worry that, at this point in the peace talks, he will be unable to serve "as the man around whom most people can rally, who can soothe people."

But it is the peace process that attracted Weizman to this post. "I think he will be a very positive force in the peace process," says commentator Moshe Negbi. "He's a war hero, and if he says he trusts the Arabs, it will be easier for the Israeli people to do so."

Weizman "is not a conventional person, and we can expect some irregular moves from him," predicts Abraham Diskin, a professor of politics at Hebrew University. "He is not going to be just the good boy running cocktail parties."

Palestinians Want Aid For Mideast Peace

Economic development is 'support system' for process

By Amy Kaslow
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

FOR Palestinian representatives at the Mideast peace talks, addressing economic issues has become essential to resolving territorial disputes.

While they are anxious to achieve "concrete results," including self-rule in the Israeli-occupied territories, they are also eager for economic rewards based on their participation in the peace process and resulting accords.

But while the West is responding with aid, Palestinians are critical of the way it is being delivered and Gulf states are reluctant to ante up.

"I call economic development the support system for the peace process," says Saeb Erakat, vice-chairman of the Palestinian delegation and a politics professor at An-Najah University in Nablus, on the West Bank. "How can you negotiate, after all, when the economic atmosphere in the occupied territories is so poor?"

Washington, the host for the talks, has worked hard to keep the process on track. Last week, the United States State Department announced plans to transfer $14 million directly to the West Bank and Gaza to help create job opportunities for Palestinians. Encouraged by the US, the European Community pledged another $6 million. And in late April, the US asked Saudi Arabia – the Palestinians' greatest benefactor in the past – to resume financial aid to the Palestinians to help ensure their return to the negotiations table.

In order to maintain momentum, the US will follow through quickly on its commitment, says Peter Gubser, president of American Near East Refugee Aid, a nongovernmental organization that administers economic and social development projects in the West Bank, Gaza, and other areas in the Middle East. "The Americans want to spend it as quickly and as soberly as possible, and they are contacting groups that work in the area," he says.

BUT Mr. Erakat says the assistance is misplaced. The donors, he says, "want to create more cheap labor, but we have no money to cover the operating costs of our institutions – our universities, hospitals, churches, and youth organizations."

A United Nations report issued Monday points to dire conditions among Palestinians living in the territories. According to the UN Development Program (UNDP), their income has fallen 36 percent over the past five years, and unemployment has jumped to 40 percent. It also cited "a gross negligence of infrastructure."

The UNDP attributes the decline to economic disruptions caused by the Palestinian-organized uprising *(intifadah)* against Israel, the loss of roughly $450 million in remittances from Palestinian workers who were expelled from other Gulf states during the Gulf war, and some $750 million in aid cuts by Arab donors who were were angered by the Palestinian Liberation Organization's (PLO) strong endorsement of Iraq in the Gulf war.

Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates, countries which have poured the most petrodollars into Palestinian accounts, have turned off the spigot.

Although Saudi Arabia has announced its intention to send $100 million to West Bank and Gazan Palestinians, the outlook is bleak for marked increases in Arab states' donations, says Eliyahu Kanovsky, an oil specialist who has done extensive research on Middle Eastern economies. "The downward trend in the long-term price of oil implies that the financial situation in major Middle Eastern oil-producing countries will go from bad to worse," he says.

Saudi Arabia, which has been running large budget deficits, will continue to spend enormous sums on military preparedness. Mr. Kanovsky says the kingdom will step up oil production (thereby depressing the commodity's price) in order to finance its defense priorities, which were heightened by the Gulf war.

A new United Nations report points to dire conditions among Palestinians. Income is down 36 percent and unemployment has jumped to 40 percent.

The Saudis will send the pledged money to Palestinians living in the occupied territories, as opposed to offering funds to be funneled through the PLO, as a strong indication that the Gulf countries wish to develop their own rapport with Palestinian residents. The move, says Mr. Gubser, is an effort to "whet the local Gazan and West Bank appetite for life without [PLO chairman] Yasser Arafat."

Kuwait, Kanovsky notes, "has eaten up most of its reserves, and the government has run on deficits for the last three years – the first in decades." And because Mr. Arafat rallied behind Saddam Hussein when he invaded Kuwait in 1990, the Kuwaitis cut off assistance to the organization and expelled almost all of the Palestinians working in the kingdom.

For its part, Israel has begun to spend part of an $80,000 fund for construction projects in the territories, according to an Israeli official. The purpose of the financing is twofold, she says. "One, is to help create jobs and improve the standard of living. The other is to somehow counteract the money coming into the territories from radical Islamic sources."

And Gubser points to long-term economic incentives for successful Israeli-Palestinian-Jordanian negotiations. He says open borders and working relations could mean "more rational use of water", increased revenues from tourism, and improved mobility of labor.

Officials continue to shrug off warnings by Western and Chinese economists that the threat of inflation and instability is growing

Chinese Economy Races Out of Leaders' Control

By Sheila Tefft
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
BEIJING

DESPITE some recent efforts to control credit, investment, and financial markets, there are indications that Chinese leaders lack the means and even the will to regulate the world's fastest growing economy.

Reeling from boom and bust cycles in recent years, Chinese officials have seemed unable to clamp down on inflation in the cities. Anger over high prices fed the political discontent of 1989 that culminated in the brutal crackdown in Tiananmen Square.

After growing 12.8 percent in 1992, China's economy once again expanded at a rate of 13 percent in the first three months of this year. That marks the fastest quarterly increase since market-style reforms were launched 15 years ago, and contrasts sharply with the stern official target of 8 percent growth for 1993.

Officials in Beijing have taken several recent steps to control the economy:

■ Authorities have ordered a tightening of unsanctioned foreign exchange trading and an end to currency futures speculation. Futures brokerage houses, many of which were making a market on their own, were required to register again with the central government.

■ A new securities bill, the first since the Chinese communist victory in 1949, was introduced to end chaos on securities exchanges in Shanghai and Shenzhen and reassure foreign investors. The measure was triggered by foreign hesitancy to invest in China's new equity markets and by riots over corruption in Shenzhen last summer.

■ Wen Wei Po, a Hong Kong newspaper closely linked to Beijing, revealed that government officials are ready to impose limits on the credit available to deficit-ridden state-owned companies to control rampant spending.

Analysts say China is in a dilemma, caught between a state sector refusing to change and the pell-mell rush of many parts of the country toward capitalism.

■ Government officials are trying to tighten up credit after inflation in March slashed individual savings kept in banks.

Nonetheless, officials here continue to shrug off warnings by Western and Chinese economists that the threat of inflation and instability is growing. Urged on by supreme leader Deng Xiaoping's order for faster economic development, Beijing officially overlooks the national annual inflation rate of 8.6 percent and a 15.7 percent hike in urban retail prices, Western analysts say.

The Chinese press has reported that a glut in commercial real estate is building up in some cities, and the yuan has plummeted against the dollar. Currency in circulation has risen dramatically and imports have jumped, eroding China's traditionally hefty trade surplus.

Contending that China may soon be locked into "an inexorable process leading to violence and economic disruption," a Western diplomat wonders, "Is this government able to implement the measures that would prevent this process?"

China lacks interest rates and other monetary tools by which other countries control investment and currency growth.

The economic unease comes amid political uncertainty and government paralysis in dealing with its biggest economic dilemma, streamlining China's huge, inefficient state enterprises.

This is a country where cradle-to-grave jobs and social benefits have been political gospel, and its leaders are now sidestepping the daunting task of reforming these enterprises and cutting the army of government workers, Chinese economists say.

The government announced in March that it would slash the central bureaucracy by 25 percent and cut seven ministries, but it immediately set up six smaller ones. In effect, though, employees in central ministries and departments are being shunted into sideline enterprises in what Chinese economists say is a move to hamper streamlining.

In a socialist economy, government ministries, departments, and bureaus plan economic activity and oversee the network of state-run firms. In this instance, under the guise of reform, powerful bureaucrats are able to keep and even add workers to the state payroll and force healthy state enterprises to absorb other loss-ridden state firms and their workforces.

State industry accounts for more than half of industrial production. When workers are fired, they also lose free housing, medical care, education, and cheap utilities.

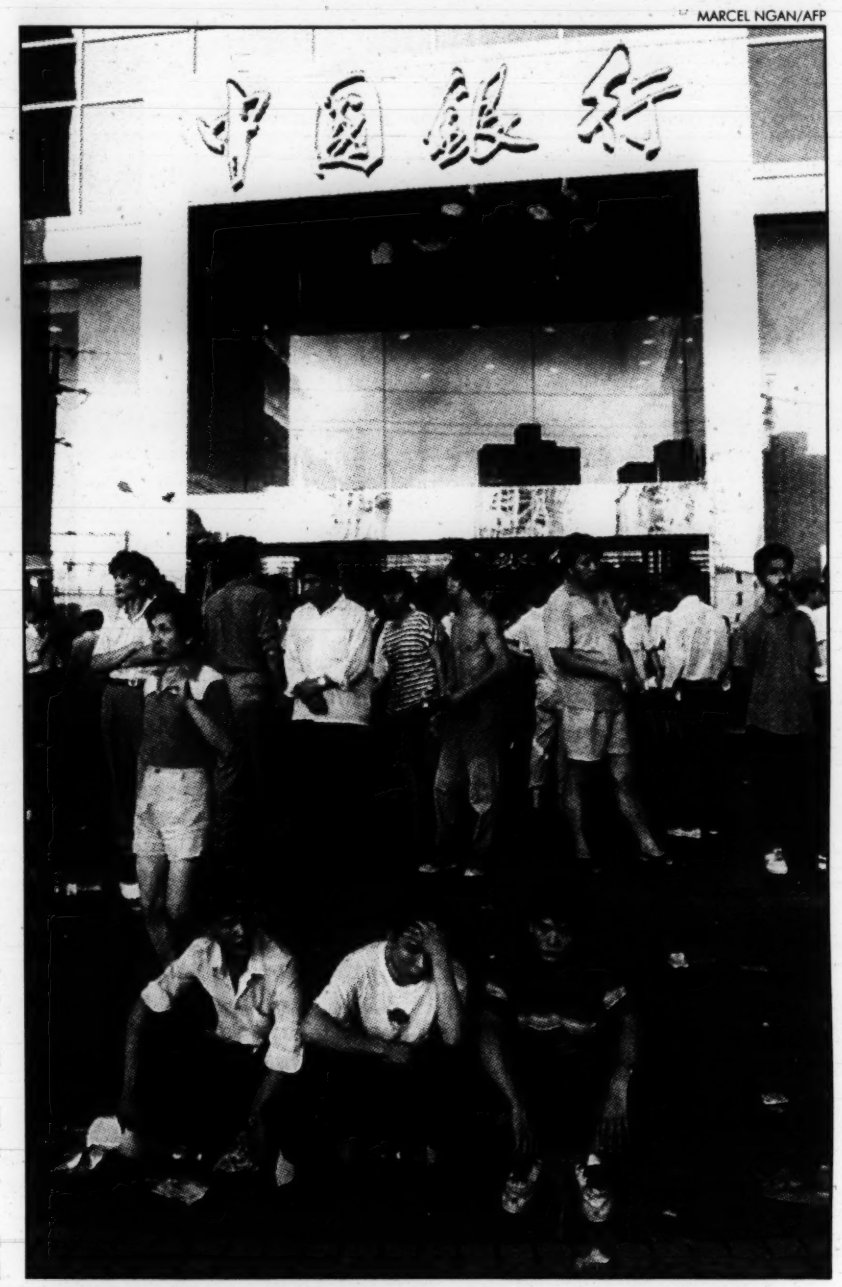
"The impact [of cutbacks] is very negative and very serious," says Zhou Linru, a government economist and specialist in enterprise reform for the state-run Development Research Center.

Ms. Zhou contends that the trend is hurting efforts to "change enterprises into individual producers, reduce government functions, and encourage fair competition. Because many departments are using their power to monopolize the market, it is also a hotbed of corruption."

This week authorities also unveiled new measures covering the placement of laid-off workers in state enterprises and benefits for the unemployed. In effect, though, these measures put the burden back on state firms; they must find new jobs for the workers they lay off.

Analysts say China is in a dilemma, caught between a state sector refusing to change and the pell-mell rush of many parts of the country toward capitalism. "This [streamlining] is going to be a long process," says Zhou, the economist. "But the market economy requires that the changes be quick."

MARCEL NGAN/AFP



AFTER A BULL MARKET IN SHENZEN, CHINA: *In an effort to reassure foreign investors who had avoided China's equity markets, authorities have introduced securities laws prompted by stock-market chaos.*

Chinese Premier's 'Cold' Heats Up Race to Succeed Deng

BEIJING

CHINESE Premier Li Peng has been sidelined by illness, fueling speculation that his absence could affect Communist leadership struggles.

Two weeks ago, Mr. Li, the conservative leader widely hated for imposing martial law and backing the Army crackdown on democracy demonstrators in 1989, was forced to cancel all activities and a trip with Chinese business leaders to Central Asia. He was also missing from the leadership lineup at the Chinese Communist Youth League congress this month.

At that time, the government said Li had a "cold," although some Western diplomats and Chinese observers say he may have had heart trouble. His recovery is expected to take several months, observers say. (Yesterday Li appeared briefly to chair a meeting prior to a national science conference.)

"It doesn't seem to be a political illness," says a Western diplomat, responding to suggestions that Li's health problem is a political maneuver.

The prime minister's health problems come as rival Chinese leaders jockey for position in the succession struggle expected following the death of the country's aging paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping.

At the annual meeting of the Chinese parliament in March, Jiang Zemin, Communist Party general secretary and head of the Central Military Commission, won the ceremonial presidency, making him the pivotal figure in the post-Deng transition.

But Mr. Jiang is widely considered a weak leader unlikely to outlast the immediate period after Deng's death. Chinese analysts say there are signs that rivals already are criticizing Jiang openly, challenging his position.

Jiang is considered equivocal on Deng's market-style economic reforms, which have divided Communist liberals and conservatives. Li, in the past an outspoken critic of the push for rapid economic change and growth, withheld his attacks on Deng's policies at the parliament meeting in March.

He won reelection to a second five-year term even though a core of legislators withdrew their support in an embarrassing protest over his continuance in power. Since the 1989 massacre, Li has been unwelcome in many Western countries.

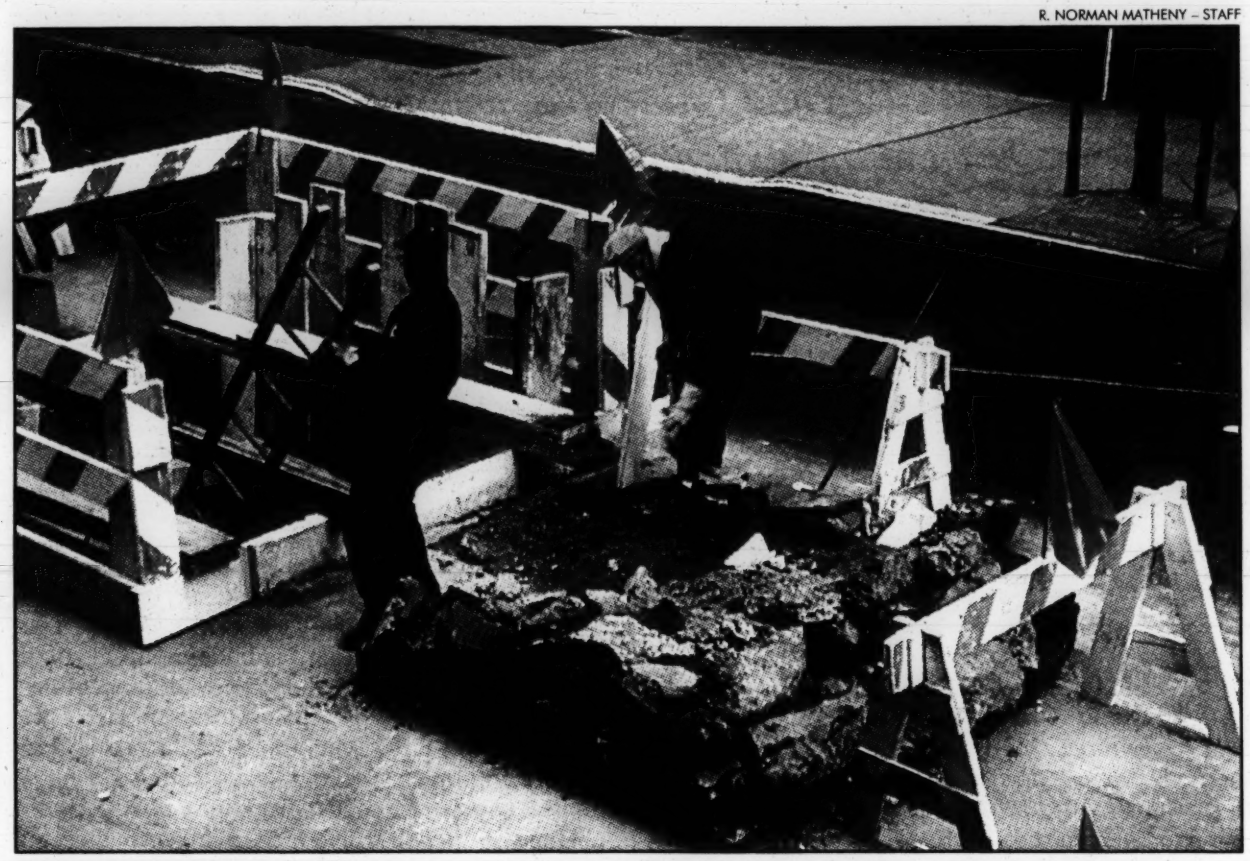
His illness could lift Vice Premier Zhu Rongji, a prominent reformer who has shepherded many of Deng's reforms, further into the limelight.

– S. T.

ECONOMY

Dinkins Faces Service Cuts To Big Apple

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



UNDERGROUND REPAIRS: *How to pay for city services poses a challenge to New York Mayor David Dinkins, whose 1994 budget could include a $500 million revenue gap that state and federal sources are unlikely to cover.*

By Lucia Mouat
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

RAISING taxes and cutting services are twin taboos for political leaders in election years. New York City Mayor David Dinkins, who hopes to win a second term next fall, is likely to avoid the first pitfall but may yet be caught in the second.

His new $31.4 billion budget for fiscal 1994 beginning July 1 includes a potential revenue gap of $500 million or more. Mayor Dinkins long ago promised New Yorkers he would not raise property taxes and hopes to bridge the shortfall with state and federal aid from his Democratic colleagues – New York Gov. Mario Cuomo and President Clinton.

Yet little of the expected outside help may be forthcoming.

With a Democrat back in the White House, the Dinkins administration assumed that "the [US] Treasury would be open," says Joseph Giacalone, an economist at St. John's University. "I don't think that's yet the reality. The jobs package didn't get through. That means Dinkins has a summer-job problem that's not likely to be resolved by Washington."

Most of the money New York City will get from Washington will be earmarked for specifics such as Head Start and community development.

The New York Legislature, which has not approved any of the new city tax hikes proposed by the mayor, has shown little inclination to offer much other help, including any takeover of the city's unusually high 50 percent share of state Medicaid bills.

If the expected state and federal aid does not come through, Mayor Dinkins says he would cut city-financed day-care efforts and outreach programs for the homeless. A number of other trims, including a slice in city park and playground maintenance costs, are already in the budget.

Both City Council President Andrew Stein, the mayor's leading rival in the September Democratic primary, and former United States Attorney Rudolph Giuliani, the expected major GOP contender in the November election, say Dinkins is a poor financial manager and has failed to make needed tough decisions. Mr. Giuliani, who lost to Dinkins by a very slim margin in the last mayoral election and is again running close in the polls, insists that much of this year's budget gap is due to the mayor's abandonment in January of a long-held negotiating position with city unions.

For two years Dinkins has argued that any salary hikes must follow and be financed by productivity improvements. In an accord reached early this year with the largest municipal union, covering more than half of all city workers, Dinkins agreed to what is widely considered a modest wage hike that will cost the city an extra $428 million next year. Yet the parties agreed to continue talks on productivity steps.

"That was putting the cart before the horse – a major step backward from what was probably Dinkins's best policy stance since he took office," says Dean Mead, a senior research associate at the Citizens Budget Commission, a 61-year-old fiscal watchdog group.

Mayor Dinkins has made some headway in trimming the city's work force. His critics, however, say he has not kept at the job consistently enough and that recent hiring of more police and teachers have canceled some of the gains. They also say that no amount of downsizing can substitute for needed structural reforms.

Charles Brecher, research director of the Citizens Budget Commission, says New York needs such reform more than most cities because it was so hard hit in the recent recession. In addition to losing about 9 percent of its economic base over the last three or four years, the Big Apple, he says, has major debts coming due from extensive borrowing in the 1980s for capital improvements. Part of the answer, he says, is more efficient service delivery. Contracting out such work to private industry or nonprofit groups can help, he says, but productivity initiatives also can and should involve regular city workers.

Strong labor support was considered crucial to Dinkins's victory in the last election. Yet Ester Fuchs, a political scientist at Barnard College and author of a book titled "Mayors and Money," says she thinks Dinkins is in a strong position politically to "stand tough" in future labor negotiations. Talks continue, for instance, with city teachers who have been working without a contract for the last year and a half.

"Dinkins has always taken the unions very seriously," Dr. Fuchs says, "but in my view, none of the unions has any other game in town. Rudolph Giuliani is not going to give them a better deal than Dinkins's worst deal."

Northeast Stagnation Continues, Sapping US Economy

By Guy Halverson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

ALONG with southern California, the Northeast continues to be a sectional weak-link in the United States economy. Neither region is likely to rebound quickly, undercutting prospects for a revival of strong national growth, economists say.

"The economy just isn't looking as good as we'd expected at this time," says David Wyss, an economist with DRI/McGraw-Hill, a consulting firm in Lexington, Mass. "The second half of 1993 should be better than the first half for the national economy; but the second quarter, which ends in June, will be weak."

DRI projects national economic growth of 2.8 percent in 1993. But unforeseen economic circumstances could knock that expectation off course, Mr. Wyss says.

The best-performing sections of the US include the Southwest oil states, the Southeast, and the farm states. The upper Midwest is picking up some steam because of higher car sales.

The upper East Coast, however, remains mired in trouble. New York City has lost 145,000 jobs since March 1991, or 4 percent of the city's employment base, according to a report issued this week by the US Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS).

"When you get such a steep job loss and such a sharp setback in the housing market as has happened in the New York area, you develop a tremendous amount of downward momentum for the entire region that is very hard to overcome," says Jason Bram, an economist with the Conference Board, a business research organization.

NEW Jersey is especially vulnerable to corporate restructuring taking place in the New York City, since many upper management officials commute to Manhattan from there, Mr. Bram says. New Jersey and Connecticut have also been hard hit by cutbacks in defense spending.

"In the Northeast, this is absolutely the worst recovery since the Great Depression of the 1930s," Bram says.

Last week the BLS announced that New Jersey's unemployment rate had shot up to 9.1 percent from 8.3 percent in March, giving Jersey the highest jobless rate of the 11 largest industrial states. Unemployment fell slightly in New York State (from 7.3 percent to 7 percent), while rising a tad in Massachusetts, from 6.4 percent to 6.5 percent. Unemployment in New York City has been hovering near 10 percent for the past few months.

"New York City has been adding jobs in … brokerage houses, retailing, and within the service industry," says Rosemary Scanlon, chief economist for the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. But these gains "continue to be outweighed by retrenchments in other local industries, including insurance, airlines, communications, and utilities."

Ms. Scanlon expects some job growth to resume in New York City later this year. That prediction assumes continued growth in the national economy.

One concern is that the health-care sector – which accounted for a large number of the 1 million new jobs created nationally in the last year – could slow under the impact of reforms to be proposed next month by the Clinton administration.

Experts here also note that New Jersey is very dependent on the pharmaceutical industry, which has been under pressure from the White House to lower prices for consumers.

Labor Gains White House Support, But Unions Are Still Losing Ground

Coal miners strike, hoping for gains in the new Clinton climate

By Laurent Belsie
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

PITTSBURGH

THE long winter of discontent between the American labor movement and the United States government is over.

The Clinton administration has already signaled the warming trend in small ways. Soon, it is expected to make its biggest gesture yet: lifting the hiring ban on air controllers who illegally struck the government 12 years ago. The move is an important symbol for battered unions.

"I think it's an important first step," says Jim Grossfeld, a spokesman for the United Mine Workers of America. "What the Clinton administration is attempting to do ... is making it very clear that the Reagan-Bush era of labor relations is coming to an end."

New attitude toward labor

"It does say that Clinton in one or two areas is really trying to accommodate unions," adds Audrey Freedman, a long-time labor observer and head of her own management consulting firm in New York City. "Because the union movement made such a to-do about PATCO and Reagan's reaction to it, the Clinton reversal takes on symbolic importance."

PATCO was the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization – a strong-willed union that staged a highly public showdown with the Reagan administration. The union lost. President Reagan fired the strikers (it is illegal for federal employees to strike) and hired nonunion replacements. More than any other action in the 1980s, the dissolution of PATCO became the symbol of unions' long decline.

The biggest test of labor's strength now is an escalating struggle in the nation's coal mines. On Monday the United Mine Workers started selective strikes against three large coal operators with mines in Indiana and Illinois. Union president Richard Trumka plans to expand the action to press for more job security for miners. Operators have expanded nonunion mines at the expense of unionized ones.

Job security is an old issue, but the miners are arguing it in a new, more Clinton-sensitive way. The union wants a new labor-management relationship, Mr. Grossfeld says. "Our message is: We're willing to change, but they have to be willing to change too."

The Bituminous Coal Operators' Association, which represents the companies at the bargaining table, argues that union miners are not as productive as nonunion miners.

Setting a new tone, the Clinton administration has hinted it might reverse Reagan's ban on rehiring the fired air-traffic controllers. The White House already revoked two of President Bush's executive orders that had made it harder for unions to represent workers on federal contracts. The White House has also appointed a commission to look for ways to better labor-management cooperation.

Lifting the hiring ban would not be entirely symbolic. Some 3,000 fired air controllers could reapply for jobs, says Jeff Beddow, a spokesman for the National Air Traffic Controllers Association. The successor to PATCO supports an end to the ban because it contends the nation's corps of air-traffic controllers is understaffed.

Yet the warming trend with Washington does not signal a renaissance of the American labor movement. Labor observers, as well as many within the union movement, say some fundamental reforms would have to take place before US unions could reverse their declines.

Long-term trend continues

Rex Hardesty, a longtime spokesman for the AFL-CIO, says that the loss of well-paid union jobs and the decline in real wage rates continues today as it did during the Reagan-Bush administrations. "As long as that's going on, it's very hard to declare that the era is behind us," he says.

"We still have lockouts and knockdown, drag-out disputes," adds Gary Hubbard, a spokesman for the United Steelworkers of America. "If we don't get labor-law reform ... we can't fight for those [social-policy] things."

It's not clear how far the Clinton administration wants to push labor-law reform, says Richard Hurd, director of labor studies at Cornell University. Even with full White House endorsement, "the Senate does not have the numbers to get through major labor reform." Professor Hurd says the administration will emphasize labor-management cooperation instead.

This move would give organized labor more say with management, but it will hardly reverse organized labor's decline, experts agree. Labor's share of the work force started to decline in the mid-1950s. Companies started to step up their opposition to union organizing in the early 1970s.

"I don't think unions can change the labor law enough – even with major support from the White House, [to] return to aggressive growth and strength," Ms. Freedman says. "The economy is so much more competitive and so much more volatile." Unions thrive on stability, she adds.

Sales Move Higher, But So Does Inflation

WASHINGTON

RETAIL sales rebounded 1.2 percent in April after a sharp, weather-related decline in March, the Commerce Department reported yesterday.

The increase was the best in six months, the Commerce Department said. It followed back-to-back drops of 0.8 percent in March and 0.1 percent in February. Economists caution that even with the bounce-back, sales are scarcely better than the level reached in December.

Analysts say sales and economic growth in general got ahead of themselves late last year and a slowdown during the first half of this year is in part a payback from the earlier spurt.

Consumer prices jumped 0.4 percent in April, the largest increase in three months, the Labor Department reported. The increase followed gains of 0.1 percent in March, 0.3 percent in February and 0.5 percent in January.

The report came a day after the department announced that wholesale prices had risen a surprisingly steep 0.6 percent in April. Half of the wholesale increase was in the food category, including a weather-related 44.7 percent spike in vegetable prices. Some analysts are troubled by the report, but most analysts believe inflation will remain moderate this year.

– **Associated Press**

Boomers, Doomers Give Opposite Views

SOMEHOW there's always a market for books by doomsayers – or, for that matter, "boomsayers."

Here are the latest examples:

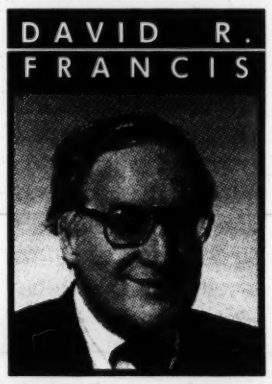
Harry S. Dent Jr. has written "The Great Boom Ahead: Your Comprehensive Guide to Personal and Business Profit in the New Era of Prosperity." It's published by Hyperion. That's the name of a Greek god, but it may be appropriate since the book is "hyper."

"Get ready for an unprecedented economic boom," the book starts. "Forget what some experts are saying about a slow, measured growth of the economy. Forget what the doomsayers are saying about a depression. I have some welcome news for you, news of a dramatic upswing in the economy, news of a dawning new era of prosperity in which many of you will actually feel wealthy."

Wow! Dig up $19.95 in a hurry. Or $16.95 for a tape version.

Then there is "The Great Reckoning: Protect Yourself in the Coming Depression," by James Dale Davidson and Lord William Rees-Mogg, published by Simon & Schuster. It seems that doom is more expensive than boom. The book is priced at $23. Or maybe it's because the Great Reckoning runs 607 pages and the Great Boom only 273.

A representative quote from William Playfair, author of a decline and fall book in 1805, starts Reckoning: "The general conclusion is that wealth and power have never been long permanent in any place ... and that they travel over the face of the earth, something like a caravan of merchants. On their arrival everything is found green and fresh; while they remain, all is bustle and abundance, and, when gone, all is left trampled down, barren and bare."



In a section entitled "Financial Armageddon," the authors write about the buildup of debts in America: "One way or the other, we expect a great reckoning. A settling of accounts. We expect the long economic boom and credit expansion that began with World War II to come to an end. The end, when it comes, will not only reveal the insolvency of many individuals and corporations, it may also bring bankruptcy to the welfare state and widespread breakdown of authority within political economies. Such far-reaching transitions cannot occur without touching your life and the lives of those you love. More than you may now imagine, you are vulnerable to financial, economic, and political collapse. You may even be vulnerable to physical violence."

Mr. Davidson was around the other day on a book-promotion tour. It turns out that his depression is spelled with a small "d."He says he's talking about credit-cycle depression without as much misery as the Great Depression of the 1930s. However, he adds, unemployment is really in the double-digit area rather than 7 percent of the labor force as measured by the Department of Labor. Added to that percentage should be 1 million people living on severance payments, another 3 to 4 million people living on permanent disability insurance, and those millions that are too discouraged to seek work, he says. And then there are the record number of people getting food stamps.

It's difficult to gauge whether Davidson truly believes the voluminous one-sided arguments for gloom in the book. Another such doomsday book, The Great Depression of 1990 by Ravi Batra, was on the New York Times list of bestsellers for weeks. Of course, the recession of 1990 was not a Great Depression. But doom certainly sells books.

Davidson is founder and chairman of the National Taxpayers Union, though he emphasizes that the book has nothing to do with that position. He and Lord Rees-Mogg publish an investment letter. They probably would not want to be termed doomsayers, especially since their writing shows financial sophistication.

Nonetheless, don't count on a real depression in this decade. If the Federal Reserve System detects even a slight reversal in the present recovery, it will step on the monetary gas in a hurry.

Right now, partly because the Fed has allowed a shrinkage in the money supply and partly because of weak statistics, some economists do see some evidence of the economy stalling.

"We believe that the Fed should act promptly to ease the Federal funds rate," writes Sam Nakagama, a Wall Street economist. "There's too much at stake for the Fed to delay action."

But what's at stake is not Depression with a big "D."

SPORTS

It's Not Over 'Til the Game's on Paper

Baseball's scorekeepers can have a big impact on high-priced careers

OFFICIAL SCOREKEEPER: *Charlie Scoggins (standing) views a Red Sox-Angels game from the press box of Boston's Fenway Park early this month.*

By Larry Eldridge
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

THE fielder knocks down a hard grounder but can't make the play. Did the batter make a hit, or did the fielder make an error? In terms of the game results, it doesn't matter what you call it. But when it comes to statistics, the impact can be enormous. And given today's big-money contracts, with incentive clauses for individual accomplishments, the difference between a hit and an error can sometimes be measured in six figures.

No wonder disputes arise – like last season's controversy involving superstars Roger Clemens and Wade Boggs. With Clemens pitching for Boston, Boggs was handcuffed by a grounder and the batter reached first base safely. The official scorer ruled it an error for Boggs.

After the game, Boggs questioned the call, saying the ball had been too tough to handle. Upon reexamining the replay, the scorer agreed and changed it to a hit. The switch evoked widespread criticism – particularly of Boggs for requesting it, since the change negatively affected his teammate's pitching statistics and thus hurt his bid for the Cy Young Award.

Most baseball traditionalists agree that such considerations have no place in these decisions – that a scorer's judgment should never be affected by the personalities involved or the heat of the contest.

Another issue is who should make these decisions. Scorers are hired by the league. Until recently, they always came from the ranks of working sports writers.

Over the past decade or so, this has changed. Worsening relationships between players and writers, along with concern about potential conflicts of interest, have persuaded many newspapers to enjoin their writers from doubling as official scorers. The result is a hodgepodge, with writers still scoring in some cities, while various individuals (retired writers, high school and college coaches, amateur umpires, or others) do it elsewhere.

"I agree with not having working writers scoring today," says retired Philadelphia baseball writer Allen Lewis, one of the nation's most knowledgeable and respected authorities on rules and scoring.

"In the old days when you didn't have the adversary relationship ... it wasn't a problem. But today the whole thing is different. You're not giving your paper its full due if you make a tough call and the player gets angry and won't talk to you."

The ideal, no matter who does the scorekeeping, is to provide full, accurate reports of each game, with consistent, unbiased decisions on such things as hits and errors – a situation many authorities say does not exist under today's unstructured approach.

Lewis, one of the select few journalists enshrined in the writers' wing of the Baseball Hall of Fame, proposed several years ago that baseball create a trained and supervised pool of ex-writers who would rotate from city to city.

Another idea is to add a fifth umpire to sit in the press box and do the job. So far, however, the establishment has rejected all such plans as being too costly.

"I estimated, when I made my proposal, that they could do it for $100,000 or so," Lewis said by telephone from his home in Clearwater, Fla. "Now it would cost more – maybe even a million. But what's a million today? Teams pay that to one second-rate player. But they close their eyes to it. They don't want to hear about it."

'You knew you'd better not miss the play, because you weren't going to see it redone on TV.'
– Allen Lewis, retired scorekeeper

Whoever does the scoring, the problems are basically the same – particularly in pressure situations, as when a possible no-hitter is in progress.

"You really have to discipline yourself," Lewis says. "In the case of a play late in the game I always asked myself: If this was the first inning, what would you have scored it?"

Then there is the age-old problem of "homers" (scorers who tend to favor hometown players in their decisions).

"We had them – no question about it," he says. "And I'm sure they still do."

Today's scorers do have one big advantage, though – the TV replay.

"When I started, you knew you'd better not miss the play, because you weren't going to see it redone on TV," Lewis says.

Over the years many notable achievements have depended on scoring decisions. One of the most famous occurred in St. Louis in 1917 when the official scorer, delayed by a streetcar tie-up, arrived too late to see a first-inning infield play that most observers said was a hit. The scorer, however, went with the minority opinion in the press box and called it an error – a ruling that turned out to be significant when pitcher Ernie Koob went on to fashion a no-hitter.

Perhaps the most incredible official scoring story occurred on the last day of the 1910 season – also, coincidentally, in St. Louis. The great but unpopular Ty Cobb had completed his season, while well-liked Napoleon Lajoie of Cleveland, still with an outside chance of beating out Cobb for the batting title, was playing a doubleheader against the old St. Louis Browns.

Every time Lajoie came up, a strange tableau unfolded: The infield played back, Lajoie bunted, and there was no play. He wound up with eight hits, and – according to the unofficial averages – the batting crown.

In that pre-computer era, though, it took several days to check all the statistics and declare them official. And in that time another writer, incensed at the fiasco in St. Louis, took matters into his own hands.

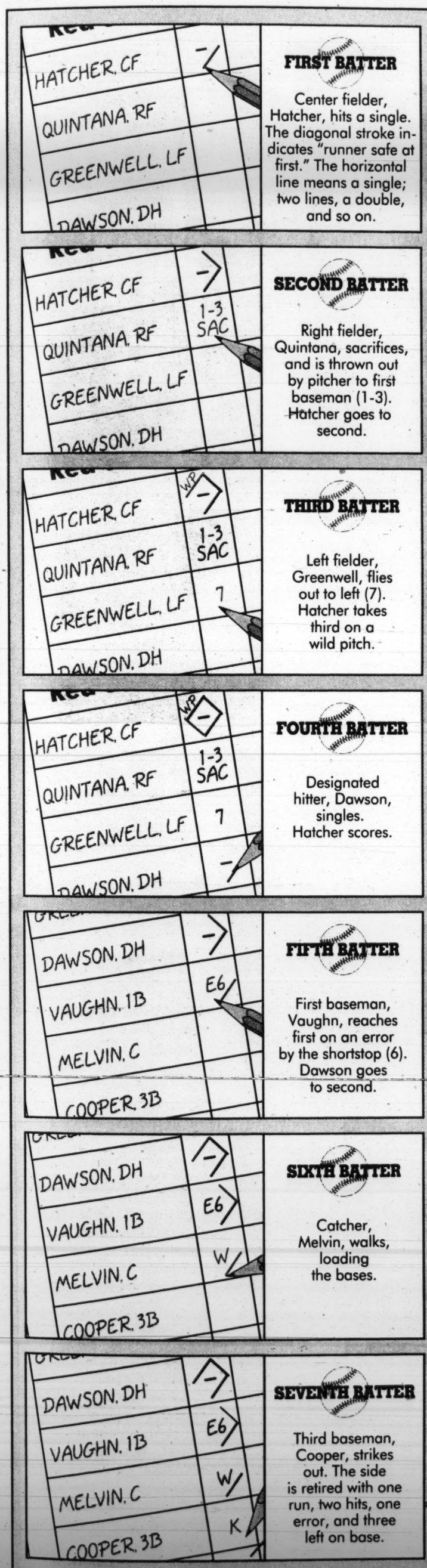
The official scorer in one of Detroit's last games had scored a ball Cobb hit as an error, but hadn't yet submitted his official report. So he reconsidered the play (without benefit of any replay, of course) and decided it had been a hit after all. When the official statistics came out, it was Cobb .385 and Lajoie .384.

It's hard to imagine anything quite as blatant as all that happening today, but obviously the official scorer continues to play a major role in the statistical side of the game – and undoubtedly always will.

PHOTOS BY BILL GRANT – STAFF

STRIKE! *Red Sox first-baseman Carlos Quintana swings at an Angel pitch May 1. Sox won, 6-1.*

DAVE HERRING – STAFF


HATCHER. CF
QUINTANA. RF
GREENWELL. LF
DAWSON. DH
FIRST BATTER
Center fielder, Hatcher, hits a single. The diagonal stroke indicates "runner safe at first." The horizontal line means a single; two lines, a double, and so on.
1-3 SAC
SECOND BATTER
Right fielder, Quintana, sacrifices, and is thrown out by pitcher to first baseman (1-3). Hatcher goes to second.
WP
THIRD BATTER
Left fielder, Greenwell, flies out to left (7). Hatcher takes third on a wild pitch.
FOURTH BATTER
Designated hitter, Dawson, singles. Hatcher scores.
E6
FIFTH BATTER
First baseman, Vaughn, reaches first on an error by the shortstop (6). Dawson goes to second.
VAUGHN. 1B
MELVIN. C
COOPER. 3B
W
SIXTH BATTER
Catcher, Melvin, walks, loading the bases.
K
SEVENTH BATTER
Third baseman, Cooper, strikes out. The side is retired with one run, two hits, one error, and three left on base.

How to Score A Game

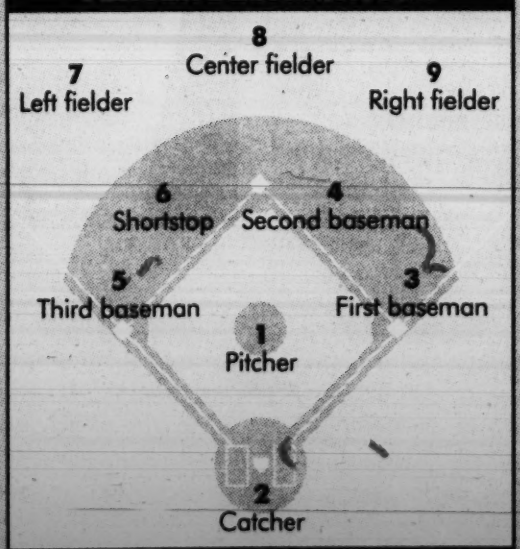
FILLING out a scorecard can be tailored to suit personal preferences. For example, some people like to tuck a small "c" or "s" next to K (strikeout) symbol to indicate whether the batter was called out or went down swinging.

Others may wish, with various notations, to differentiate between fly balls, line drives, and pop-ups. It is common, with walks, to add an "I" if the base on balls is issued intentionally. And "HR" is used to designate a home run.

SCORE

Red Sox	1	2
HATCHER. CF	WP –	
QUINTANA. RF	1-3 SAC	
GREENWELL. LF	7	
DAWSON. DH	–	
VAUGHN. 1B	E6	
MELVIN. C	W	
COOPER. 3B	K	
[illegible] SS		
RIVERA. 2B		
RUNS	1	
HITS	2	
ERRORS	1	
LEFT	3	

PLAYER DESIGNATIONS



Violent 'Wild Palms' Breaks New Ground

By Marilynne S. Mason
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

DENVER

LOS ANGELES in the year 2007 is "Wild Palms" country, ABC's six-hour sci-fi melodrama (Sunday, May 16, through Wednesday, May 19).

In this near-future thriller, the City of Angels is tough, crowded, brutal. Advanced technology has produced "holosynths," three-dimensional holograms that are projected into living rooms through television screens. Mimezine, a new drug, allows viewers to interact with the images. A quasi-religious cult called Synthiotics confers terrifying powers on a diabolical pair of villains. Politics is utterly corrupt, as is the police force.

"Wild Palms" is a bizarre, apocalyptic vision. It is not for everyone because its tone is so sinister and the nature of the violence is particularly disturbing.

But "Wild Palms" – a production of Oliver Stone's company, for which the director of "Platoon" and "JFK" served as executive producer – breaks new ground in the miniseries format. Sumptuous cinematic style replaces the usual flat TV form, especially in the first two-hour segment directed by Peter Hewitt. Fancy camera angles and graceful camera movement, beautiful interiors, costumes, and lighting lend elegance to the film's "look."

TELEVISION

Then, too, "Wild Palms" is a highly complex, intense hero's journey laden with symbolism in which the line between dream and reality is very thin indeed. Writer-creator Bruce Wagner's ambitious, imposing parable is a warning against a future in which technology has replaced religion, easing the populace into complacency, while evil geniuses plot and plan. One of the main ironies of the production is that this warning against television is *on* television.

The responsibility of Everyman, as embodied by the main character, Harry Wyckoff (James Belushi), is to tackle the onslaught of evil (in this case, a tyrant by the name of Senator Kreutzer), despite the cost to himself.

Harry is a rising young patent attorney whose life spins out of control when a former lover asks his help in finding her kidnapped son. The seductress draws Harry into Synthiotics, which teaches a belief in "multiple realities." Founded by the senator (Robert Loggia), Synthiotics is really a mind-control cult, and Harry finds his dreams haunted by a rhinoceros and other strangely terrifying images. He goes to work for the senator. Then Harry and his wife and children are thrown into a series of nightmarish events, from which only Harry can liberate them. The labyrinthine plot weaves a fantastic number of grotesque characters together.

The villains are very, very evil – almost caricatures at times. The senator's sister Josie, in particular, becomes too extreme to sustain our credulity, though Angie Dickenson is terrific in the role. There are other serious flaws: A number of loose ends are never tied up; toward the end of the film, the mood abruptly changes and the ending is unbelievable and safe. Four directors filmed the four parts, and it doesn't always hang together.

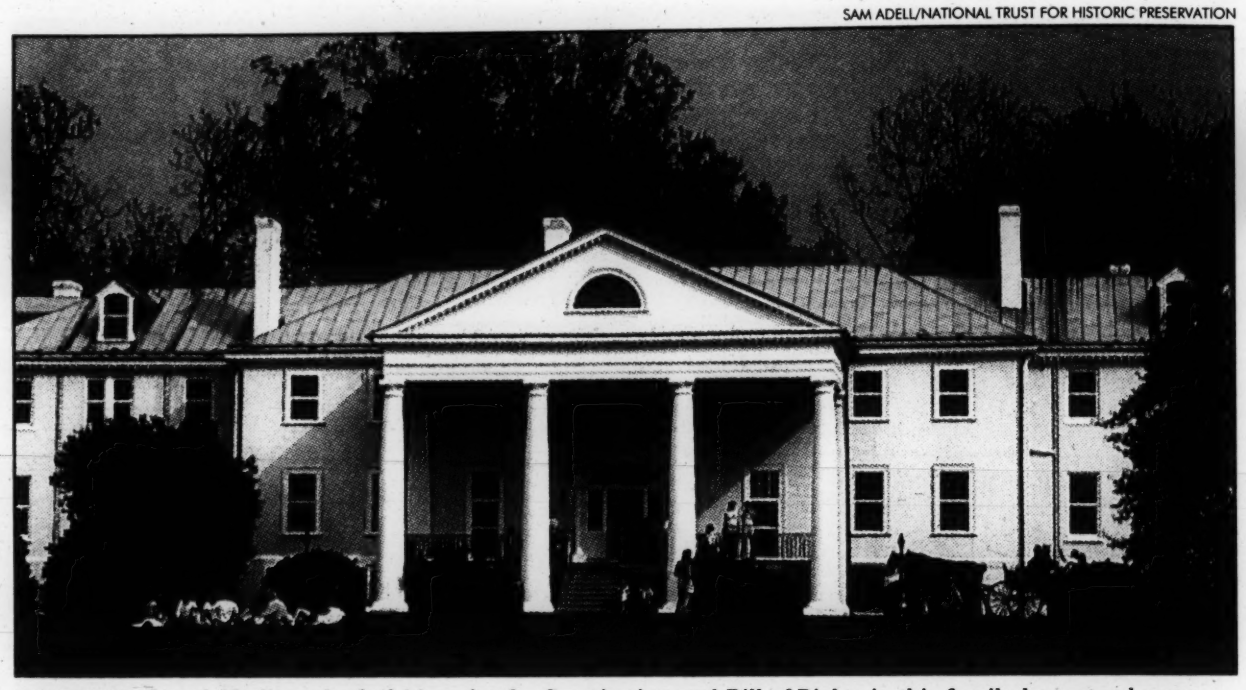
But the most serious problem for many viewers will be its unremitting violence. "Wild Palms" breaks new ground visually, stylistically, and thematically, but maybe some of that new ground should not have been broken. Paradoxically, most of the violence takes place off screen – an unusual choice and a good one. What makes the series seem more violent than your average cop show is the menacing tone of the series. Characters are trapped, rendered physically unable to escape, and then tortured. The viewer doesn't have to see it to be disturbed by it. A child commits a brutal murder off camera. A woman strangles her daughter. A man is ritualistically drowned. We've all seen so many murders in film and on TV, we have become desensitized to much of it. But "Wild Palms" attacks areas of thought still sensitive – which may numb us further, or worse, contribute to the culture of violence.

The series is very different and challenging compared with most TV. "Wild Palms" holds up the proverbial mirror where we may see one logical end of a materialistic, drugged-out, amoral society – as well as the clear and immediate antidote. It's a bigger vision than we are used to on the small screen.

COMMUNITY

Historical Trust Uses Its Clout For US Heritage

SAM ADELL/NATIONAL TRUST FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION



MONTPELIER: *James Madison drafted ideas for the Constitution and Bill of Rights in this family homestead near Orange, Va. It is one of 18 homes from different American periods owned and displayed by the National Trust.*

By James H. Andrews
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

SOME eyebrows lifted last summer when it was announced that Richard Moe had been named president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Why would a top Washington lawyer and Democratic Party stalwart, it was asked, abandon the world of power lunches to save old houses?

If some observers were puzzled that Mr. Moe wanted the job at the preservation trust, others were delighted that the trust wanted Dick Moe. The appointment of a political heavyweight signaled the preservation organization's intention to be a major player in the public-policy arena. While this is not a new role for the trust, Moe is expected to strengthen its advocacy clout.

The National Trust was chartered by Congress in 1949 to help preserve America's architectural heritage. "From the beginning the trust had an identity crisis," says Prof. Charles Hosmer, a leading historian of the preservation movement in the United States. "Should it imitate Britain's National Trust, and focus just on saving great homes of the rich? Or should it try to be a force uniting preservation groups?"

The National Trust's goals fluctuated, depending on the interests of its presidents and trustees, says Nellie Longsworth, president of Preservation Action, a grassroots lobbying organization based in Washington.

In recent years, though, the trust seems to have settled into the multiple roles of curator, preservation cheerleader, adviser to state and local preservation groups, and tough advocate in courts and legislatures.

Today the nonprofit organization owns and operates 18 historic house-museums around the US. It publishes a bimonthly magazine and a monthly newspaper, and it sponsors a wide array of educational programs. The trust also provides technical advice and financial assistance to state and local preservation groups through seven regional offices **(See related story, right)**.

The trust's budget is about $30 million. Besides annual dues from more than 250,000 members, funds come from private donations and foundation and corporate grants. The trust also receives matching funds from Congress – $6 million last year.

With limited funds, the National Trust has to budget its efforts carefully. In aiding state and local preservation groups, for example, it tries to allocate funds where they can be effectively leveraged to obtain local financing for preservation projects.

Preservation activists like Ms. Longsworth and Katherine Burns Soffer, a lawyer at the federal Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, comment favorably on the trust's growing advocacy muscle. In his office in the trust's Washington headquarters, general counsel David Doheny lists the projects his staff of lawyers and policy analysts are working on.

The trust is lobbying Congress to expand the historic rehabilitation tax credit. From 1976 until the credit was narrowed by the 1986 federal tax-reform act, Mr. Doheny says, it pulled nearly $16 billion of private capital into preservation projects.

Trust litigators are also fighting to protect from developers historic properties or neighborhoods from Florida to California. And in recent years the trust has filed amicus briefs in key land-management cases in federal and state courts.

By many accounts Moe inherited an organization that was capable but somewhat lackluster and dispirited. Observers say the enthusiastic newcomer has been a breath of fresh air. "Morale at the National Trust is very high," Longsworth says.

Adds Alan Schwartz, executive director of Historic Massachusetts, a Boston preservation organization: "I haven't seen so many smiles on the faces of trust staffers for a long time."

■ *May 9-15 is National Preservation Week.*

The Trust's New President, a Washington Insider, Has Ambitious Plans

WASHINGTON

RICHARD MOE took over as the seventh president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in January, succeeding J. Jackson Walter. A native of Minnesota, Mr. Moe served as a Senate aide and later chief of staff for Vice President Walter Mondale. From 1981 until his appointment he practiced law in Washington.

Moe says he became interested in preservation while doing research for a book about a Minnesota regiment in the Civil War. "I discovered to my horror how endangered many of the Civil War battlefields were, either by neglect or by the threat of development," he says. After Moe joined the board of the Civil War Trust, he was recruited for his new job.

Moe spoke with the Monitor in his Washington office last month. Excerpts from the interview follow:

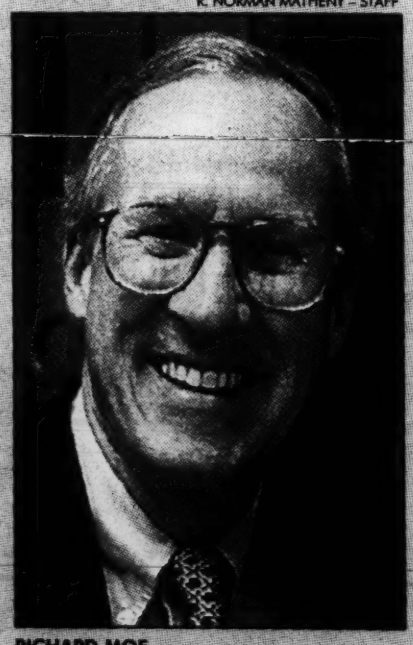
What are your principal goals as president?

First, we have these properties around the country – 18 of them – and they're marvelous properties. I would like to strengthen that collection and add to it by making it more diverse, more representative of the whole American experience.... We're going to look at a black midwife's house in Jackson, Miss. We're looking at a warehouse in Chicago. I'd love to find a ranch in the West or a farm in the Midwest.

Second, in the public-policy area, I would like to try to use the trust to help shape federal, state, and local policies in a way to promote preservation. Too often today, our housing, urban, and transportation policies do not take preservation into account; rather, they have just the reverse effect.... We'd like to get the historic rehabilitation tax credit restored: That's our highest legislative priority.

Third, we're trying to assess what we can do more effectively to help state and local preservationists.... We can't do preservation from Washington; it has to be done locally. But we can help them through technical assistance and some financial support.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



RICHARD MOE

Preservation Week's theme this year is "Preservation and Livable Communities: Make the Connection." What is the connection?

I think communities and neighborhoods are richer for having older structures. There is nothing more sterile than to go into a totally new community and see nothing but steel and glass.... [Mixing in] older structures not only is aesthetically pleasing, but it gives us a sense of where we came from as a community and a nation. Sometimes people see preservation as kind of frivolous; it's not. It's important to the livability of our communities, and that's what this theme is all about. There's a craving in this country for a connection with the past, a sense of history.... There is more to a community than bricks and mortar; there is really an element of spirit.

Does preservation have any relation to environmentalism?

We are dealing with the built environment rather than the natural environment. But I have been much impressed by what the environmental movement has done in the last 20 to 30 years. Thirty years ago, nobody thought of themselves as environmentalists; now we all do. That's because an ethic has been inbred, particularly in children, who pick it up in school. I hope that through similar education means and public leadership, we can persuade the vast majority of Americans that they have a stake in preserving their communities....

What do you say to those who give preservation low priority?

We're trying to make the case that preservation works economically as well as aesthetically. Through our Mainstreet Program, for instance, we try to help business people in small towns see that preservation can be a unifying theme, a building tool, so that they can get a business plan and a design plan and get back in competition with the Wal-Mart or mall that showed up outside of town. Preservation can help a community's economy, as well as make people feel better about their community.

– J. H. A.

PRESERVING RURAL AND SMALL-TOWN NEW ENGLAND

BOSTON

■ Fittingly, the National Trust for Historic Preservation's Northeast Regional Office occupies a suite in a building next to Boston's venerable Faneuil Hall. Showing a visitor around the red-brick offices illuminated by skylights, Regional Director Vicki Jo Sandstead says, "Look, our windows even open."

Ms. Sandstead heads a staff of four. One member administers grants and loans for local preservation projects; one recent grant went to a church in Boston's Roxbury neighborhood. Another member of the staff is a consulting lawyer with a background in land-use regulation.

The small size of the regional staff is misleading. Sandstead employs consultants and college interns for special projects, and the office can draw on scores of volunteer planners, architects, lawyers, and interested citizens to assist in its preservation, educational, and lobbying efforts.

The National Trust also has regional offices in Philadelphia; Charleston, S.C.; Chicago; Denver; Fort Worth, Texas; and San Francisco. Besides implementing the trust's generic programs, the regional offices develop programs adapted to their areas. The Denver office, for instance, devised Barn Again, a program to save old barns in the Plains states by retrofitting them for modern farming machinery.

In 1989 the Boston office launched Project Prepare, targeted at protecting rural areas and small towns in the six New England states and New York. First, the staff and consultants inventoried all the state laws and local ordinances available as preservation tools. Then for each state they published a comprehensive "guide and diagnostic checklist for protecting your town's character." A video, "Saving Place," is also available for town planners, developers, state lawmakers, and citizen activists.

According to local preservationists, the trust's regional office here is an invaluable intermediary between local organizations – which provide most of the preservation movement's foot soldiers – and Washington. "They help ease some of the inevitable tension between state and local groups and the feds," says Alan Schwartz, executive director of Historic Massachusetts.

– J. H. A.

DANCE

Ten years after the choreographer's death, the Boston Ballet (and other companies) pay fresh tribute to his genius

Stepping to Balanchine

By April Austin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

THE legacy of George Balanchine, who lived from 1904 to 1983, comprises more than 400 ballets. The choreographer's influence continues to be felt in every ballet troupe and modern dance company in the world. This season, to mark the 10th anniversary of his passing, the Boston Ballet has put together a program of three dances that reveal different sides of Balanchine.

Balanchine, who was born Georgi Balanchivadze in St. Petersburg, absorbed the Russian traditions of pure classical dance, along with the stylized pantomime featured in the dances of Vaslav Nijinsky.

His background is scattered with names that read like a Who's Who of ballet history: He studied dance at the Imperial St. Petersburg School and eventually joined Sergei Diaghilev's Ballets Russes. Through Diaghilev, he worked with the composer Igor Stravinsky, setting a number of his compositions to dance.

Balanchine came to New York in the 1930s, and, with the backing and talents of Lincoln Kirstein, founded the New York City Ballet and its school.

The choreographer's influence and advice also helped the Boston Ballet's founder, E. Virginia Williams, to get her company off the ground in 1963. Balanchine's link to the Boston troupe comes full circle in the performance of his dances "Apollo," "La Sonnambula," and "Tchaikovsky Piano Concerto No. 2."

The first, "Apollo," is set to the shimmering strings of Stravinsky. It is a startlingly modern piece for having been choreographed in the early part of this century.

The theme is the birth, youth, and maturity of the Greek god Apollo and his three accompanying muses, Terpsichore, Polyhymnia, and Calliope, who represent the talents of rhythm and gesture, mime, and poetry.

In the Boston performance, the vast Wang Center stage was empty except for a striking postmodernist staircase and a low white Greek column. The dancers, in white garments, moved precisely and struck tableaux-like poses, as if they were artists' models for a classical frieze.

Balanchine, while retaining the elegance and fluid control of classical ballet, throws in gestures that must have surprised his early audiences. "Apollo" clearly contains the seeds of modern dance: entwined bodies, hip isolations, and extended fists that curl and uncurl.

Boston dancers Patrick Armand as Apollo and Adriana Suarez as Terpsichore, in their pas de deux, brought out the charmed pairing that Balanchine devised, but Armand did not seem fully engaged. His acting consisted of a haughty attitude, rather than pleasure at discovery of Apollo's god-like powers. Their performance, along with that of Pollyana Ribeiro and Natasha Akhmarova, failed to catch fire.

The way Balanchine envisioned "Apollo" draws on platonic ideals: While the muses look to their mentor god for instruction, Apollo draws support and strength from their presence, minus a sexual component. Without reading too much into the ballet, "Apollo" moves into the calming realm of equilibrium and mutual appreciation among the muses and Apollo.

The ballet 'Apollo' clearly contains the seeds of modern dance, including entwined bodies, hip isolations, and extended fists that curl and uncurl. It must have surprised early audiences.

"LA SONNAMBULA" borrows its subject matter from the 1831 Bellini opera of the same name. Composer Vittorio Rieti composed the music for Balanchine's version, which tells the story of a sleepwalking ghost, a poet who falls in love with her, and the ghost's jealous husband.

The ballet begins with a masked ball, and offers an opportunity for a talented male dancer (in this case, Grant Scruggs) to delight the guests, and audience, with a Harlequin routine. One moment a rag-doll, the next a wooden soldier, Scruggs prances and preens with delightful goofiness, and finally steals away like a naughty child.

The ballet's eery, nightmarish quality becomes apparent only when a light is seen moving past the windows of the house. Soon, the ghostly sleepwalker appears, candle in hand, as if programmed by remote control. She cannot see the poet, who dances around her and tries futiley to embrace her.

Through Balanchine's remarkable choreographic sleight-of-hand, the poet's arms seem to go right through her body and she appears to step invisibly through him.

The poet and sleepwalker's pas de deux, as danced by Laszlo Berdo and Susanna Vennerbeck, is a marvel of dreamlike intensity and concentration. Vennerbeck is positively wraithlike in her filmy long nightgown, and her feet seem to hover just above the ground.

The last dance, "Tchaikovsky's Piano Concerto No. 2," is less appealing because it is a formal, storyless ballet with the traditional grand gestures and no drama.

The piano, which was difficult to hear because of the notoriously poor acoustics at the Wang (built as a movie palace), is the soul of the dance, and the musical motifs are personified by several dancers with varying degrees of skill and precision.

It is hard to say anything in particular about this ballet, except that Balanchine choreographed it to take on tour to South America, and he wanted the audiences there to experience pure classical dance, ostensibly unencumbered by plot and narrative considerations.

The Boston Ballet's presentation adds further polish to Balanchine's reputation for adding new moment to the existing vocabulary of dance.

■ *The Boston Ballet's "All Balanchine" program concludes Sunday at the Wang Center for the Performing Arts. The New York City Ballet continues with its "Balanchine Celebration" (until June 27) at Lincoln Center, including such works as "Prodigal Son," "The Four Temperaments," and "Slaughter on Tenth Avenue."*

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Alan Bunce

■ **FRIDAY**

Bob Hope: the First 90 Years *(NBC, 8-11 p.m.)*: I know these salutes tend to be glitzy bores, but if anybody deserves one, it's Bob Hope, whose active superstardom – he's one of the handful of people who merit that abused term – has probably lasted longer than anyone else's this century. His gag delivery – facile, sardonic, timed as if by computer – would probably be in the Smithsonian if it could be packaged. Six decades of fans have been conditioned to laugh at it, sometimes in spite of themselves, during a career that stretches back to vaudeville in the 1920s, Broadway in the 1930s, the pinnacle of film success in "road" pictures and other vehicles, TV shows, and personal appearances like his tours to entertain American troops. The list of celebrities – even just those hosting program segments (like Jay Leno) – is too long to print, but President Clinton is expected to appear, as well as former Presidents Bush, Reagan, Carter, Ford, and Nixon.

■ **SUNDAY**

How the West Was Lost *(Discovery Channel, 10-11 p.m.)*: For the American West to have been "won," it had to have been "lost," and this six-part miniseries looks at the period through the eyes of those whose land it was to lose: the Nez Percé, Apache, Cheyenne, Lakota, and Navajo nations. As history, their perspective has been largely ignored, despite all the recent attention given native Americans. In this documentary, the focus is on largely tragic events that occurred during the mid-to-late 1800s at places like Little Big Horn, White Bird Canyon, and Sand Creek. Some of the programs were shot on location, with visually impressive results. Many rare photos of the period are used to illustrate the story, told partly in the words of descendants of Cochise, Sitting Bull, and Chief Joseph, many of whom are giving their first interviews. The six episodes, aired on consecutive nights, trace the progress of destruction as indigenous peoples lost their land and – in many respects – the meaning of their lives. The première episode deals with the Navajo at the start of the wars of the Great Plains.

Please check local listings for all programs.

Butoh Dance Comes to Bennington

The Japanese art form generates moods from the lyrical to the macabre

By Keith Henderson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BENNINGTON, VT.

IT was an unusual afternoon even for Bennington College, known for its thrusts into the experimental. Min Tanaka, a master of the Japanese avant-garde dance form *butoh*, was about to guide a throng of Bennington's staff, faculty, students, and visitors through a two-hour culmination of "Night-Day," a series of dance sketches developed during Mr. Tanaka's six-week residency at this southern Vermont school.

The dancers were all Bennington students, and most of the choreography and staging came from them rather than the dance master, who was more a source of inspiration than of direction. The dance, sculpture, and music departments had collaborated in the production, in line with Bennington's commitment to breaking down academic boundaries.

"Night" had happened the evening before, with dancers often illuminated by torchlight. The sunny, daylight rendition would lack that bit of drama, but would have no shortage of visual and audible impact.

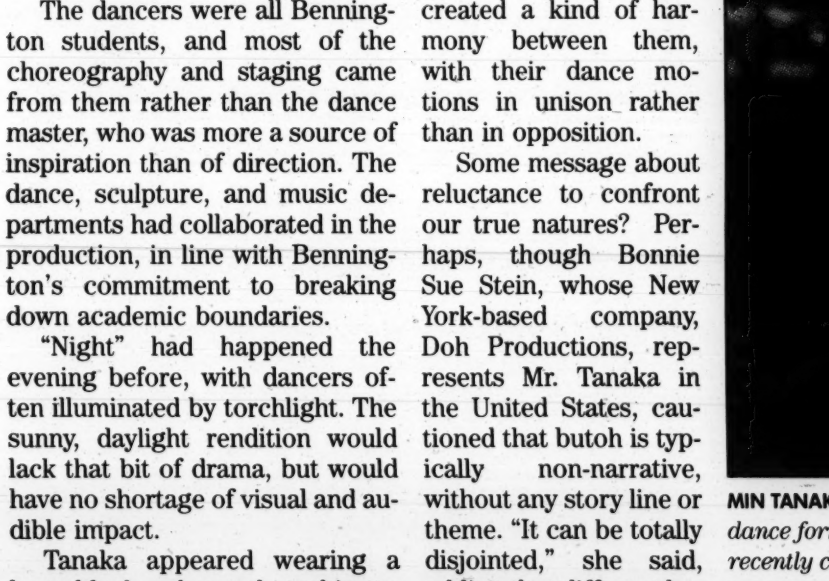
Tanaka appeared wearing a long black robe and pushing a cart filled with red roses (which, as the afternoon progressed, he would occasionally toss to dancers or hand to spectators). He walked, wordless through the crowd of 150 or so, and they followed. A few hundred yards down a shaded dirt road, the first venue was reached – a garden enclosed by a high, weathered brick wall, a remnant from college's days as an estate.

The dance master lit a pile of brush and sticks in an open, grassy part of the garden. With this, two dancers covered primarily by white body paint – one wearing a grotesque, outsized mask that seemed a representation of the sun – slowly came alive. Before they had seemed almost like statuary.

When the male dancer removed his mask, the female reacted with terror. This confrontation was repeated until both donned masks, which created a kind of harmony between them, with their dance motions in unison rather than in opposition.

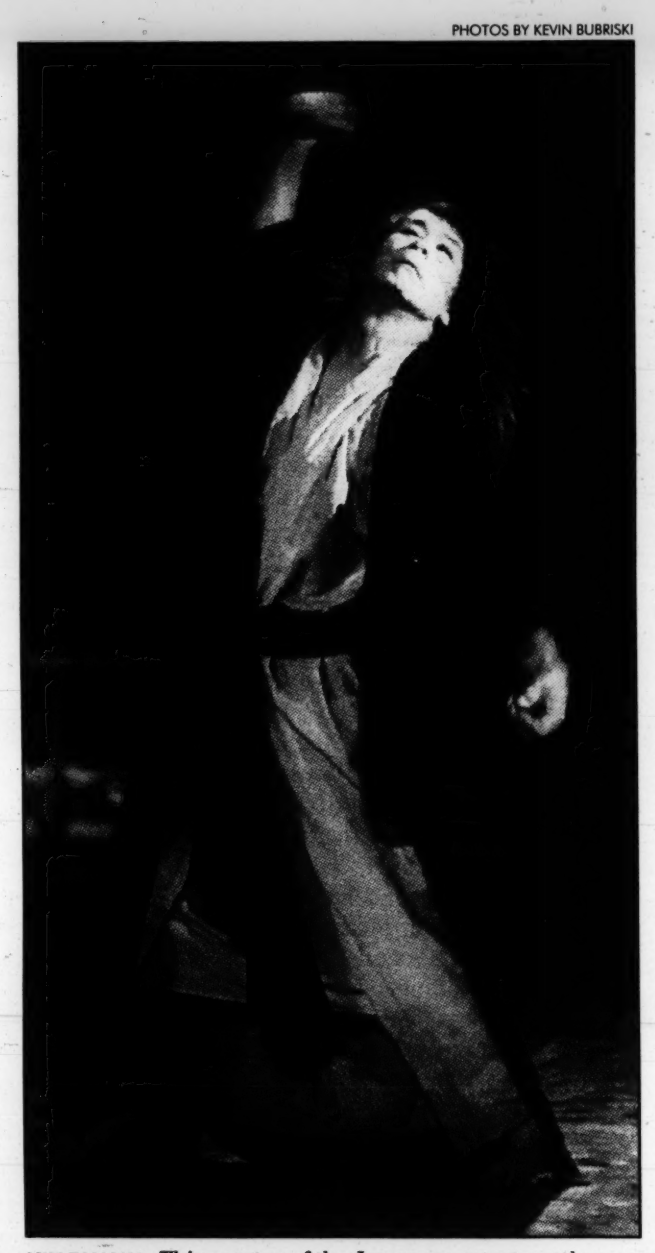
Some message about reluctance to confront our true natures? Perhaps, though Bonnie Sue Stein, whose New York-based company, Doh Productions, represents Mr. Tanaka in the United States, cautioned that butoh is typically non-narrative, without any story line or theme. "It can be totally disjointed," she said, adding that different butoh masters can have quite different styles.

Taking a moment to chat as the spectators moved on to another performance, Ms. Stein further explained that this kind of dance developed in postwar Japan in tandem with strong antiwar feelings and reactions against the militaristic past. It appears to partake of some established Japanese traditions: The white body paint, for example, is reminiscent of Kabuki. But Stein suggested that the often slow, deliberate movements of butoh are more related to "No," another traditional form of dance and theater.



OFF-STAGE: *Tanaka (pictured here with Hugh Burchardt, son of a former student), spent a six-week residency at the southern Vermont school.*

PHOTOS BY KEVIN BUBRISKI



MIN TANAKA: *This master of the Japanese avant-garde dance form, butoh, performs in one of the sketches he recently collaborated on at Bennington College.*

The originators of butoh had training in modern Western dance, Stein continued. Some had studied flamenco. The name butoh, itself, is an old Japanese term for "dance step." It might have been meant as a poke at tradition, said Stein, since in the late 19th century the term was applied to the Western ballroom dancing then being exported to Japan.

The moods cast by the performers at Bennington swerved from soothing and lyrical – as when three dancers did identical steps around three trees that receded in a line from the spectators' view – to macabre. The latter climaxed in an indoor performance that turned a darkened lecture hall into the interior of a spider's web – or perhaps a torture chamber from the Inquisition. Weird, wailing music filled the room. Weblike strands were projected on walls; some dancers strained against fetters; another labored to turn a windlass; one figure struggled to break free of what appeared to be a huge hanging cocoon.

That nightmarish scene was balanced by the outdoor pieces, where the interplay with nature was intriguing and sometimes amusing: the dancer's hand emerging from a stack of cut twigs and releasing clouds of puffy white seed pods, the well-timed puff of wind that unfurled a long white streamer at a climactic point in a dance, the incorporation of any sound – a bird song, a baby's cry, the clicking of bicycle wheels – into the the free-form musical accompaniment.

"Min always responds to the environment," Stein observed, mentioning that she once saw him use the noise of a passing motorcycle in his dance.

Tanaka didn't join in the dancing at Bennington until the last of the 12 works in "Night-Day." This took place in the cavernous, scantily lit Martha Hill Dance Workshop. To a background of metal drums, whistles, and electric guitar chords (sometimes produced by striking the strings with a drumstick), he feinted and swayed, creating a collage of small movements of head, arms, and fingers.

THE rest of the cast soon joined him from all sides, and even suspended overhead. The music and sound built until audience members might have imagined themselves trapped in a gigantic, rollicking bird cage – mysteriously, a few eggs even dropped from above (missing the spectators).

When the performance was over, Tanaka broke into a broad smile. Asked about the students' work, he proclaimed, "They did well, because they enjoy."

In Europe, butoh has gained popularity in France, Germany, and even in Russia. It is performed regularly by companies in New York, San Francisco, and Seattle. US public awareness of butoh probably reached a peak in 1985, when a member of the Japan-based butoh dance company Sankai Juku fell to his death during a performance of the troupe's famous "hanging dance."

FREEZE FRAMES

A weekly update of film releases

By David Sterritt

■ **POSSE** – The saga of an African-American outlaw group that rides through the Wild West promoting vigilante justice with guns, knives, and fists. This revisionist western makes its most important point in the first five minutes, when it notes how many black Americans helped create frontier communities that usually have an all-white appearance in Hollywood movies. Once this has been established, however, the film proceeds to celebrate not the solid citizens who nourish civilization year in and year out, but the violent actions of rebels and renegades who appear nearly as dangerous as the villains they hunt down. Add a shamelessly self-infatuated performance by Mario Van Peebles, who directed the picture as a follow-up to his bone-crunching "New Jack City," and you have an energetically made but sadly superficial epic; it owes more to the influence of filmmakers Sergio Leone and Sam Peckinpah than to original thinking by Hollywood's younger generation. *(Rated R)*

■ **TIME INDEFINITE** Around the time when he decided to get married, Ross McElwee also decided to make a diary film about his family, from an elderly grandmother to the newborn baby that he and his wife expected they would have before long. The result is a superb example of first-person cinema, deeply introspective and refreshingly outgoing at the same time. It is also quite disturbing at some moments, treating the most wrenching sorrows as well as the most exhilarating joys of family life, and including graphic medical footage alongside casual camcorder shots and images from nostalgia-filled home movies. The fact that McElwee reaches few firm conclusions is a sign of his honesty and wit; the fact that every scene has something provocative to say or ask is proof of his sincerity as an artist. The promise of his earlier "Sherman's March" is engagingly confirmed, and one looks forward to future installments of his candid 16-mm chronicle. *(Not rated)*

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A Visitation of Wings

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'CATTLEYA ORCHID AND THREE BRAZILIAN HUMMINGBIRDS' (1871): *Oil on wood, 13 3/4 by 18 in., by Martin Johnson Heade.*

JUST before dawn, a redbird called from the live-oak tree outside my bedroom window. His song was of such tender sweetness that I smiled, even in the gray mistiness of morning. "I caught this morning morning's minion," wrote Gerard Manley Hopkins. Later, however, the ubiquitous sirens that thread through the backdrop of city life obscured the sweetness of the redbird's call. Savannah's manners may be courtly and old-fashioned, but her crime is contemporary.

As I drank my morning coffee, I listened to the morning news and recoiled. It had been a particularly wretched week with both national and international stories chilling me. Srebrenica, Waco, South Africa; the litany of names slipped into consciousness and lodged there, catching like sharp thorns. The images of injured children "beat against my heart with broken wing."

But time and finances dictated my hours. Deadlines had to be met, and there were things I needed to say. I went upstairs to my studio to work.

My loft is usually a refuge, but that morning it was not. Before I could get started, the telephone rang, and rang, and rang. I knew the solution: Take it off the hook. Let the machine pick up. But I couldn't. Personal reasons demanded that I answer. That morning, there were three calls, three stories, three problems to be resolved. My refuge seemed filled with voices, some of which only I could hear.

The picture book I'm working on was laid out across the desk in sequence, waiting for words to fit the pictures I have in my head. My characters – Cuffy, Dahomey, and Shisa – called to me in the lilting Gullah cadence of the Sea Islands. And in the space next to my computer, chapters of a young adult novel waited to be put into courier font. Tattnall, Obie, and Zinnia spoke to me in soft Alabama accents through 20 chapters. They'd been waiting longest, but being Southerners, were fairly polite about the wait.

Suddenly, what I do and what I was trying to understand through my writing seemed futile. In the face of the world's terrors, how important were these books for children? Who would care about the children I write about? I'm neither a philosopher nor a theologian. I'm searching for answers, not promising them. Could my words make a difference in how a real child understands this world? I don't understand it – that's why I write.

From the open window came the dulcet refrain of a mourning dove, a gentle cry verging on the edge of sorrow. And I was suddenly in need of wings. Hopkins wrote, "My heart in hiding stirred for a bird." I needed to hear birdsong. I placed my hand over the picture book: "I need to see a small bird," I said to my Gullah friends, "a *bidi-bidi*, to ease my heart." Everything would have to wait. On my way downstairs, I picked up a copy of Emily Dickinson's poems. She too understood the need for wings, "Hope is the thing with feathers that perches in the soul." I went down to the kitchen for a glass of iced tea and then outside.

Yellow Banksia roses tumbled over courtyard walls and climbed into the trees. I walked out, startling the birds perched on the wall and in the dogwood tree. They fluttered away on "wimpling wing," but as soon as I was settled, they returned to the feeders. They are well-fed, the Savannah sparrows and the chickadees. Four mourning doves tottered on pink feet over the warm, rounded stones of the courtyard, their breasts shimmering like opals. A fifth dove sat on the telephone wire, her body like an apostrophe etched against the sky.

Terra-cotta saucers holding sunflower seeds for the redbirds were tucked among scented geraniums, whose delicate white blossoms rose above thick, furry leaves. Angus, the rooster that lives across the lane, crowed suddenly in a voice like a rusty hinge. But the birds ignored him and continued feeding. Since my cat, Sister, died, birds have been coming to the feeder in droves. Sister was too fat and lazy to ever catch a bird, but she was very much in evidence, choosing to sit among the shrubbery under the feeders just to torment them. Like most cats, she was master of the elusive and the subversive. Peace settled in, and the sounds of seeds falling punctuated the quiet air.

Something moved the air close to my ear: a humming, a whirring that faintly stirred the air. A green hummingbird hovered at my shoulder. Scarcely breathing, I sat perfectly still. He stayed only a moment, a fluttering of time, then was gone. I couldn't believe my eyes: He was not much larger than a bumble bee. But his sound was in my ear, fierce wings that beat on the air like some atomic heart. I was enraptured.

I REMEMBER once, when I was a child, sitting in a field of larkspur. As I sat alone among the blue and lavender flowers, a golden butterfly lit upon my shoulder. The moment was magical, like a secret gift. Whenever I think about it, I recall the scent of warm grass and sunlit flowers. It was one of those isolated moments when we are surprised by joy.

I was so enthralled by my encounter with the hummingbird that I had to tell someone about it. "I never realized that you could actually *hear* a hummingbird," I said. "Why did you think they were called hummingbirds?" was the prosaic reply. That's not the point, I thought. The point is wings. The point is the visitation – being surprised by joy.

Later though, I decided that it is often a mistake to try to share something precious and unexpected. Perhaps it was expecting too much for someone who had not actually experienced the moment to share with me my sense of wonder. I had been the one searching for something, trying to find solace in solitude. I should have savored the gift, admired it from all angles. According to the book of Luke, even Mary "kept all these things and pondered them in her heart."

My "heart in hiding" that had been in need of solace had been given it. I had "called off thoughts awhile" and taken Hopkins' advice to "give comfort root-room."

Pondering, like comfort, is a careful thing. Small moments of wonder need to be savored; then, in the fullness of time, acknowledged. When we seek that "still, small voice," we shouldn't be surprised when we hear it, but simply grateful. It brings us back. Unforeseen, unexpected gifts, like skies seen between mountains, light a lovely mile.

Sara Harrell Banks

Absentee Voters Present at the Polls

THE Maine Commission on Governmental Ethics and Election Practices has spoken, and life is not likely to be the same henceforth. All I have to go on is the story in our local paper about some election shenanigans, and I realize you may require a second opinion. Well, this is the local paper that pays no attention to the peculiar orthography of the language. It sometimes puts two "t's" in cat and leaves one out of dog. Connie Pratt, my cultured neighbor, was amused at first by a newspaper that couldn't spell, but became tired of it and wrote a letter to the editor, asking him to urge his staff to better efforts. The editor courteously printed her letter, but spelled her name wrong.

Anyway, it seems in last fall's voting, a lady candidate greeted incoming voters at the door with amiable hospitality and suggested perhaps they would like to step into this other room here and use absentee ballots, sparing a wait in line. I am not sure about the purity of electioneering in the polling place, but the

JOHN GOULD

candidate assured the investigating committee she did nothing wrong. I believe this, because my father always said that the woman's vote would clean up American politics and show the menfolks how to be honest and upright. However, one voter said the lady candidate's kindness persuaded his/her vote. But that's all right.

What we should heed, rather, is this business of coming into the polling place to vote an absentee ballot. I don't know why a ballot clerk would be handing an absentee ballot to a voter who is right there at the polls, and I have been too busy to step out and inquire. But I do remember about Thomas Brackett Reed and his reforms in Congress.

Congressman Reed was a down-Mainer and became Speaker of the House. At once he was agitated by some of the House rules, and he sought some changes for the better. One rule had to do with the ascertaining of a quorum. The old rule was that a congressman could be at his desk, very much present, but if he didn't answer when the clerk called the roll, he was considered absent.

Speaker Reed would be ready to proceed, having a busy agenda, but he would consequently lack a quorum even though the chamber was full. Being a Mainer with logical attitudes, he felt this was absurd and said so. He instructed the clerk to mark a congressman present if he were in his place, whether he answered the roll or not.

Well! The first congressman to dissent was recognized by Speaker Reed pleasantly enough, and Speaker Reed said, "Does the gentleman rise to deny he's here?"

Later, Speaker Reed wrote his book, "Reed's Parliamentary Rules," and he remains our best authority on conducting a meeting. "Reed's rule" was a popular term in the late 1800s, and it meant you were there if you were there.

But now this is no longer so.

Our committee on election ethics seems to say that you can be there and be somewhere else at the same time. At least on voting day. This new arrangement should please just about everybody. Back in 1966, my wife and I spent several months in Europe, and before we left home in Maine we asked our town clerk to post us some absentee ballots for the fall election. We had to tell her that we would not be able to vote in person at our lawful polling place. So we were in the village of Freudenstadt in the Black Forest when we received a strong brown envelope from home with the required ballots. We got the ballots for candidates, and then a dozen or so smaller ballots, each, for proposed constitutional amendments and bond issues, and then we had to go find a notary public.

The lawyer we consulted explained that in Germany a jurat is made by an officer of the court, not by attorneys. He directed us to the proper place, and since he knew nothing about American absentee ballots, the official *Notar* needed much explaining before he consented to serve us. Then, he wanted to see how we voted, and in about 20 minutes we convinced him this was secret. So he entered each jurat in a huge book, charging three marks for each ballot, and we went to the post office. It was some $7 postage home, plus the customs paperwork, and we learned later that everybody we voted for and every issue we supported was soundly defeated back home.

But we really and truly were absentee.

A Book That Opens Up the Bible

AT one time I regularly attended movies with my older brother. His love of filmmaking and his artistic understanding give him an insightful perspective on the deeper meanings in a movie that I often miss.

I remember one particular scene in a movie. There was, of course, just one image on the screen that we were both watching. All that I saw was a stream with junk in it. My brother, on the other hand, saw the stream as a symbol of the washing away of the material crutches of society and civilization. When he explained this to me I could glimpse something of the breadth of ideas embraced in such a work of art. It made the film richer, deeper, more lucid to me.

The Bible, too, is overflowing with vital spiritual ideas. When I first started reading the Bible, much of it seemed obscure and puzzling. I have discovered a "friend," however, that has done for my understanding of the Bible much the same thing that my brother did for my film viewing. This friend has opened up the Bible's inner meaning—illuminated its deeper spiritual message. The spiritual meaning of the Scriptures was never actually absent, of course. That's as inseparable from the Bible as a director's vision is from his movie. I, however, required more spiritual discernment to see what was always there.

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

The good thing about the particular friend that has helped me to understand the Bible is that it, too, is a book, and therefore one is free to spend as much time with it as one wishes. The book is called *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures.* Its author, Mary Baker Eddy, was healed of an injury diagnosed as fatal by reading the Bible. She had long been a deep student of the Scriptures. But this time, as she read and prayed, God opened her eyes more than ever before to the spiritual meaning of His Word. Explaining this event, she writes in *Miscellaneous Writings*, "That short experience included a glimpse of the great fact that I have since tried to make plain to others, namely, Life in and of Spirit; this Life being the sole reality of existence."

This "great fact" is explained in *Science and Health*, which really opens up the Bible anew for the unprejudiced inquirer. Understanding that God is divine Spirit enables us to recognize that His creation is entirely spiritual. This light that Christian Science throws on the Scriptures uncovers its infinite meaning and brings healing. Such healing is not, however, the main aim of prayer. Healing comes as an inevitable consequence of the real reason for studying and praying—namely, to quench our thirst for an increased knowledge of God and of man's true relationship to Him.

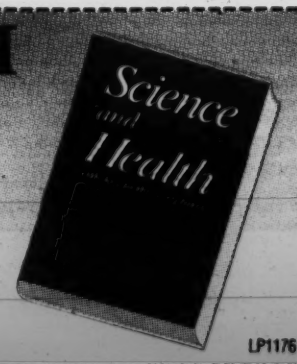
One of the great discoveries I made, as I read the Bible in the light Christian Science throws on it, is that the Bible affirms man's place as God's son. If we read the Gospels' record of the life of the Saviour, Christ Jesus, without the aid of the spiritual key, it's possible to be left with a feeling that what we're reading about is utterly beautiful, but long gone. Yet when we recognize through the teachings of Christian Science that Jesus was evidencing the eternal Christ, the true, spiritual nature of man, one's eyes are opened to seeing the beauty of Christliness expressed in oneself and others.

This happened for me one spring day. I had accompanied my mother and older brother to a park. I had spent much of the previous night striving to learn what the Bible and *Science and Health* teach about the true, spiritual nature of affection, its purity, and its invariability. I had glimpsed something of the fact that God, who is divine Love, is infinitely full of affection for all His ideas, and that in our true, spiritual identity we reflect His nature ceaselessly. I saw something of the fact that man evidences the consistency and fullness of God's affection in all his experience.

That day, at the park, I found myself suddenly overtaken by a profound spiritual vision of my mum's and brother's utter beauty as ideas, or reflections, of God. Though I had always loved and appreciated them both, now the love and appreciation were on a different, a spiritual, footing. I saw something of how they expressed God's flawless, divine creation, and I loved them more concretely, more gratefully than ever before.

We love one another most fully when our affection is grounded on this solid and secure basis. But if we let our Bible remain closed—either physically kept shut or shut to our discernment through failing to open our thought to the spiritual light of its true meaning—we may fail to see man's spiritual selfhood as clearly as we need to. Opening the Bible practically, and our thoughts prayerfully, in order to gain the scientific truth of its meaning, opens our eyes to infinite good! The book of Malachi points to the abundance of good, saying, "Prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it." Today is a good day to start opening the Bible and finding God's goodness. My "friend," *Science and Health*, can be your friend too. It can open up and deepen your comprehension of God's holy Word and bring a love of the Scriptures that will comfort and heal.

Above all, it will open up your heart to an ever-increasing understanding of God and His great love for you, and for all.

SCIENCE AND HEALTH
with Key to the Scriptures by Mary Baker Eddy
This 700 page book is the complete statement of Christian Science.
NAME
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP
Write to Science and Health, P.O. Box 1875, Boston MA 02117
or Call 1-800-633-1300 Orders only
VISA®, MasterCard®, checks accepted or "bill me." $14.95 postpaid. Mail orders from outside the U.S. will be billed in local currency.


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OPINION/ESSAYS

Moral vision is the only one that is practical in the long run

In Democracy 'You Cannot Be Silent'

By Vesna Pesic

WHAT distinguishes us from other opposition groups and parties [in Belgrade] is our double agenda – *for* democracy and *against* nationalism. Many people talk about democracy, but you cannot implement democratic values and institutions within the framework of aggressive nationalism and war. You cannot be silent about the horrors of bloodshed and ethnic cleansing and the destruction of cities and villages and places of worship and claim that you are a democrat. You cannot call yourself a democrat if you are only seeking democracy for your ethnic community. We raise our voices against such thinking and against those who inflame national feelings and fears in their own struggles for power.

I would like to take this occasion to convey three messages to US policymakers and the public. First, I want stress the existence of those who do not support the policies of national hatred and war. For example, a group of people in the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Banja Luka have formed an organization called the Civic Forum. These people – Muslims, Croats, and Serbs – reject the notion that they cannot live together. They resist the nationalist propaganda. There are independent women's groups speaking out against the war and caring for women who have been raped and abused. There are independent associations of intellectuals who are trying to raise the voice of reason; journalists challenging the official accounts of the war; and people from all over the ex-Yugoslavia working together in the struggle for real peace and democracy. These people need to be recognized and supported.

When I speak to US and European officials about these efforts, they often respond, "You are only a small minority." My answer to them is: "Do you want us to disappear altogether? To not exist at all? Who is going to build democracy if our efforts are both silenced by our regimes and ignored by the outside world?"

To those ready to accept any deal with nationalist forces, to those for whom "never again" means "another time, but not now," I would point out that the so-called utopias have a concrete basis in the basic norms of international and humanitarian law. This moral vision is the only one that is practical in the long run.

SECOND, we feel that the international community can and must do more for all those trapped by the power games and violence in the war in the former Yugoslavia. The vacuum of the post-communist period allowed the extreme forces in the country to gain momentum, to push us into a vicious cycle of threats, aggression, and drastic violations of human rights.

The international response to date has been confused and without any consistent or understandable policy. In between packages of food and bombs there are steps that can and must be taken. In the first place, there should be rapid and effective establishment of protective zones for civilians in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and distribution of humanitarian aid by all means. Ultimately the international community should establish a civil administration for the whole territory of Bosnia.

Rather than spending all efforts and resources in order to create elaborate peace plans, the international community must attend to the immediate suffering of civilians. Long-term solutions for the region can be deliberated after an effective cease-fire. In addition, help must be given to establish and maintain a free press, television and radio [in] the region. This is essential in order to rebuild communications, to break the monopoly over information and the psychology of war.

Third, we need support for our commitment to the idea of individual rights. We must be able to move away from the notion and practice of collective responsibility and guilt and develop foundations for individual responsibility, which is a basis for democratic citizenship. Not all members of a national or ethnic group are guilty of war crimes, but the individuals who can be named must be made accountable. I'm not suggesting that we engage in witch hunts after the war, but we do need fair trials for those who have committed crimes. The Center for Anti-War Action has developed a project for an international war crimes tribunal which should be supported and which could ultimately fit into the international process. This can be a starting point in ending the historical cycle of collective revenge and introduce the rule of law into our societies.

During this occasion of the world conference on democracy, I can still hear the echo of our warlords, with their claims that we cannot live together. Do not believe them. With so many people gathered here from so many regions, races, and religions, we ourselves prove that multiethnic communities and cross-cultural communities are possible and present the only just future.

I firmly believe that in defending values of individual rights and mutual tolerance we are the real patriots of our nations.

■ *Vesna Pesic is director of the Center for Anti-War Action in Belgrade and founder of the Civic Alliance Party. This is excerpted from an April 27 speech at the National Endowment for Democracy.*

In Japan, Izumo City's Mayor Sets Independent Course

IZUMO, the Land of Clouds, is one of the oldest provinces of Japan, the place where, every October, the tutelary deities of all the other provinces of Japan hold their annual conference. It's a land of legends, beloved by Lafcadio Hearn, the 19th century Irish writer who became a Japanese citizen. And it's the home of the Izumo Dome.

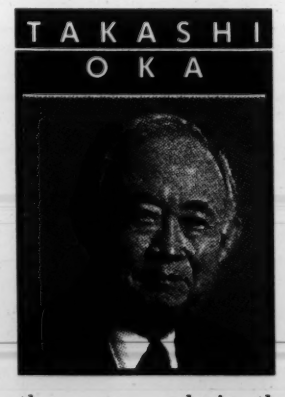
The dome sits like an overturned bowl on the flat plain leading to Izumo City, its creamy, teflon-coated roof visible for miles around, its wooden frame constructed of sturdy Douglas fir. Mayor Tetsundo Iwakuni says he got the idea for the structure when he visited the Astrodome in Houston several years ago.

This dome, of course, is of a size suitable for a city of 80,000. It seats 2,500 people and is large enough for high school basketball or soccer. It's environment-friendly, in that it has neither heating nor air conditioning, but shields audiences comfortably from the elements. Izumo, as its name indicates, is not blessed with much sun.

Before the dome, many outdoor sports events had to be canceled because of rain or snow. Now the dome is in use just about every day of the year, at prices modest enough for schools and charitable groups to afford.

When so many news stories from Japan these days are about angry trade disputes with the United States, Europe, and other regions, it's good to be able to report that once you get out of Tokyo, there are many cities and towns like Izumo, where the pace of life is measured and the outside world impinges hardly at all.

Izumo's present is as interesting as its past, all because of its mayor. Mr. Iwakuni returned to his native city four years ago after a lifetime spent in banking and securities, mostly overseas.



When the mayorship fell vacant, Iwakuni said he felt the pull of his home town and gave up a vice presidency at Merrill Lynch in New York, where every three minutes the same amount of money passed through his hands as Izumo's entire annual budget ($240 million).

His dream, Iwakuni told me over a Sunday barbecue lunch, was to make city government as efficient as the best-run corporations in the country. And he has fulfilled it: Two years ago, Japan's leading business weekly ranked Izumo as one of the nine best-run companies in the country, side by side with giants like Toyota or Mitsubishi.

Iwakuni has also shown political courage: I have heard him lecture to citizen's groups on Japan's responsibility for Pearl Harbor, hardly a popular subject, and on the need to ensure that Japan never goes to war again.

Of medium height, Iwakuni is a forceful, persuasive speaker. He has galvanized his city's formerly sleepy bureaucracy, promoting local industry, attracting businesses and educational institutions, and improving services for senior citizens and others. "They're the same officials who were in city hall when I was elected," he said, "and I don't pay them bigger salaries than before, but now they're willing to staff weekend branches of city hall in the supermarkets." That's a concept pioneered by Iwakuni and followed by a number of other cities. "He can be frightening, but he's also exhilarating," said one of his subordinates.

Iwakuni calls the Izumo Dome his city's contribution to redressing the trade imbalance with the US. From several designs submitted by construction companies, the mayor chose one featuring a wooden framework and had the lumber imported from Oregon.

The dome has enlivened the city's atmosphere. Because of it, more young people stay in Izumo instead of leaving for larger metropolises.

Iwakuni's solution to the problem of Japan's whopping trade surpluses with the US (nearly $50 billion last year) is to make Japanese lives richer and more comfortable. "We can spend much more than we do on improving social amenities," he says, and in making imported goods more attractive to Japanese. The Izumo Dome is one example, but there are many others.

The people of Japan have got to reach out more, Iwakuni says, not only to America, but to other lands. He has recently established a sister-city relationship with Xianyang, an ancient city of inner China. He has served as a visiting professor at the University of Virginia's business school.

Does he ever think of service at the national level? He is not without ambition, and if some day the prime minister of Japan is chosen by popular vote rather than in the smoke-filled rooms of the Diet (Parliament) – as some opinion leaders advocate – he might be tempted. But that is still, he admits, a long shot.

Struggling Nations Need Guidance

By Robert I. Rotberg

MANDATES and trusteeship served their purpose. Is it time for tutelage? Are the 1990s ripe for an experiment in benevolent renovation?

The rejuvenated United Nations is backing into something that is more than mere peacekeeping and far less than some kind of full-scale occupation. There is greater pressure than ever before for UN operations that go beyond administering relief and patrolling blue lines, green lines, and other borders in the sand.

Order is breaking down repeatedly within supposed nation states. In too many there is little that approximates a working government, and much that is predation. A case is continually being made, not least by the inhabitants of countries lacking the essentials of government, for the installation of an internationally-sanctioned functional substitute.

In Somalia, the United States military-humanitarian intervention has now become a UN-administered operation. Since there has been no real government in most of Somalia since early 1991, and since rapacious warlordism filled the vacuum until the Americans arrived last December, the UN will now have to do more than keep order.

Unless the UN proposes merely to prevent Somalis from killing each other, while providing the hungry with relief supplies, it will almost certainly want to restore the ability of Somalis to govern and feed themselves. Otherwise the UN may be compelled to restrain warlords interminably.

The UN's alternative strategy, and the world's other obvious option, is to rebuild the internal capacity of Somalia to govern itself.

That cannot be done overnight. Somalis would first have to be disarmed, a task from which the US forces shrank. The UN should arrest warlords, too. Then it will want to establish an effective police force and judicial system, and a network of local governments.

If the UN does begin to restore Somalia's ability to function in these and similar ways, it will once again have Somalia as a ward, as it did from 1946-1960. The old trusteeship model will have been replaced by a form that could be called tutelage.

Tutelage may mean the temporary employment of foreign advisers as police commandants, judges, and local government officials. Tutelage could include control of the national treasury and central bank.

It would also mean the establishment of a timetable for the gradual takeover of all of these functions by retrained local citizens. Local and national elections would be assumed.

The UN is inherently unimperialistic. Recolonization might be a fear among some new nations, but countries like Somalia reached such an anarchic nadir that the Americans had no choice but to intervene on behalf of the new, unipolar world order. Likewise, the UN now has little choice but to govern Somalia until it can govern itself.

If the UN successfully can fashion the instruments of tutelage in Somalia, it will have responded to a critical need of the turbulent 1990s. Even those countries not yet in Somalia's desperate straits could benefit.

Zaire is an African country where government barely works, and then almost exclusively in the capital city. President Mobutu Sese Seko and his opposition rivals would have to cede control for a time to the UN, or the UN might be compelled to demand that Zaire simply turn itself over to the UN to be reorganized and reoriented.

The UN is already massively in Cambodia, attempting to keep the peace between competing factions and also to organize and oversee elections. A period of tutelage would make sense.

IN the Western hemisphere, Haiti cries out for tutelage. Whether or not President Jean-Bertrand Aristide resumes his office and the military junta that ousted him is exiled, there has long been an absence of government outside the capital. What democracy means, and expectations of fair play, judicial honesty, and fiscal probity are largely unknown.

For Haiti to move from two centuries of instability and poverty to full membership in the community of tolerably-run nations will demand the kind of oversight that only a period of internationally-supervised tutelage can provide.

Despite the fiercely nationalistic pride of most Haitians, a method of tutelage that firmly developed the capacity of Haitians to govern themselves might actually be welcomed. And it could be a condition of President Aristide's full resumption of power.

Bosnia is a particularly complex, compelling case. After peace is created by outside intervention or negotiation, a government for the whole as well as the parts will have to be created. If the notion of tutelage catches on, and if the members of the UN embrace it, redoing Bosnia would be a serious and important test.

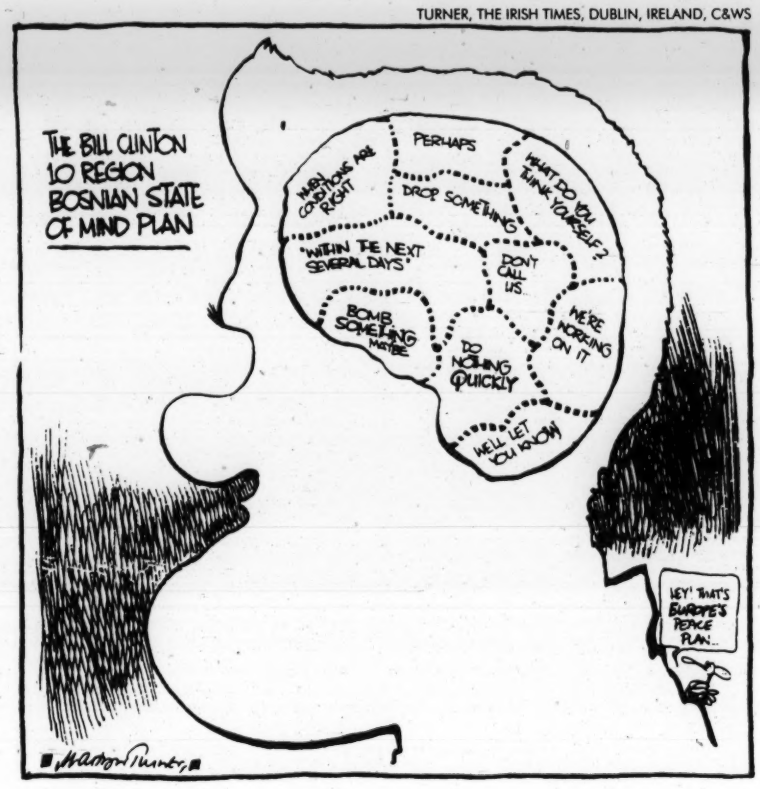
Tutelage will not fit every case of world disruption or national collapse. But because any implosion, no matter how remote, affects the entire world, and because so many of the world's rulers govern for themselves rather than for their people, the need for peacekeeping will not vanish.

Repetitive peacekeeping can dampen down conflicts, but only periods of tutelage will restore national abilities to maintain the peace and build new structures and systems on the ruins of chaos. Tutelage is a process whose time has clearly come.

■ *Robert I. Rotberg is president of Lafayette College in Easton, Pa.*

CONCLUSIONS DRAWN

TURNER, THE IRISH TIMES, DUBLIN, IRELAND, C&WS


THE BILL CLINTON 10 REGION BOSNIAN STATE OF MIND PLAN
MAKE CONDITIONS RIGHT
PERHAPS
WHAT DO YOU THINK YOURSELF?
DROP SOMETHING
WITHIN THE NEXT SEVERAL DAYS
DON'T CALL US
BOMB SOMETHING MAYBE
WE'RE WORKING ON IT
DO NOTHING QUICKLY
WE'LL LET YOU KNOW
HEY! THAT'S BURDEN'S PEACE PLAN...

HAGEN, VERDENS GANG, OSLO, NORWAY, C&WS

BELL, THE GUARDIAN, LONDON, ENGLAND, C&WS

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIALS

Wielding the Filibuster

THERE is more to this week's "motor voter" win by the Clinton administration than providing inducements for more Americans to register and vote. It took the votes of 60 senators to halt a so-called "filibuster" and enact the bill. Use of the filibuster in attempting to derail a proposed congressional act in the United States Senate is a legitimate maneuver that has its good uses. The least that can be said for it is that, even when unsuccessful, it forces members of the Senate to thoroughly examine controversial proposals and their reasons for rejecting or enacting them.

That is what occurred in this case. Although the major tool of the filibuster is delay – and much of the prolonged debate is little above the level of trivia – the ultimate result reflects at worst the inability of proponents to achieve an unchallengeable majority.

The filibuster may be subject to abuse, but over the decades few members of the Senate have resorted to it unless they felt the outcome was critical.

Earlier in the current session, Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole (R) of Kansas successfully applied the filibuster to scuttle President Clinton's jobs proposal.

But Mr. Dole was not able to stymie the Democratic bid to make it easier for Americans who are not registering to vote to get their names on voting lists.

Six Republican senators backed the registration plan, making it possible to end debate and pass the bill, which provides for several easy ways of registering to vote: when getting motor vehicle licenses, joining the military, going to social service agencies, and registering by mail. (Criminal penalities are provided for misuse of the privilege, and registrars are prohibited from taking people's names off voter rolls simply because they failed to vote.)

Minority Leader Dole clearly has his own agenda, which appears to include one last bid for the Republican nomination for president in the 1996 election. If Dole & Co. can continue to keep Mr. Clinton reacting to their initiatives, the Kansas senator might be a formidable candidate four years hence.

Racism's Guises

THE latest twist in the saga of Dr. Leonard Jeffries shows the muddle many colleges are in on issues they are supposed to best deal with: scholarly standards, rigor, and inquiry.

Dr. Jeffries is the City University of New York professor who made disturbing anti-Semitic statements at a 1991 arts conference in Albany – leading to his dismissal as chair of the CUNY African American studies department (though he kept his tenure).

This week a federal jury found Jeffries' dismissal violated his right to free speech. (City College says the dismissal is for poor administration – though in 20 years Jeffries never got a bad rating.)

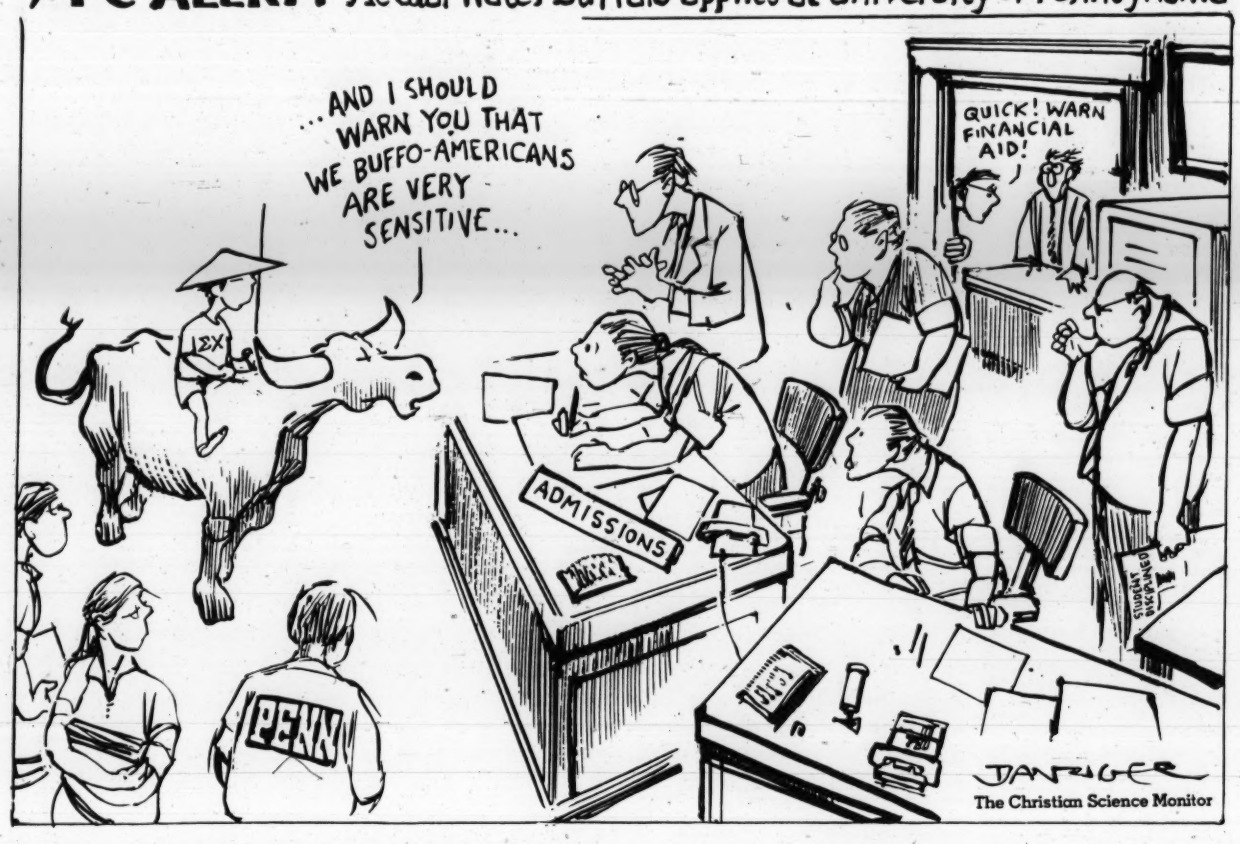
The case is ironic. While campuses seek to restrict and punish forms of hateful speech, Jeffries argues on grounds of academic freedom that he is entitled to freely express his views.

This is clearly true – though in the context of speech on campus today, it seems a double standard. As Noam Chomsky pointed out in defending a professor who claims the Nazi Holocaust never occurred, free speech – even if abhorrent – must be protected. If Jeffries was dismissed solely for his 1991 speech, the federal jury made a correct ruling.

The real case, however, is one of scholarly malfeasance – and colleges' inability to enforce accountability. Jeffries is responsible for several racist theories about black superiority. His department promotes, for example, a book titled "The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews," which Henry Louis Gates, head of Harvard African-American studies, calls "one of the most sophisticated instances of hate literature yet compiled." Until recently, Jeffries did not allow white students into his classes. It is interesting that this advocate of free speech has barred reporters from covering his academic talks.

Colleges are responsible for monitoring the vital tension between free inquiry and the direction impressionable minds are led. Racism can flourish in many guises – and among many races. Professors in Nazi Germany proved this. As Leon Botstein, president of Bard College points out, free speech is only the beginning of the issue. The next needed step is a more serious scrutiny of scholarship and methods, and a reexamination of standards.

★ **PC ALERT!** Actual Water Buffalo applies at University of Pennsylvania



Keep Whaling Commission Intact

SINCE 1988, the 39 members of the International Whaling Commission have observed a ban on commercial whaling. But this year's IWC meeting in Kyoto has turned into a showdown, with Norway and Japan asking for a partial lifting of the ban. Britain and the US want a permanent ban. Norway says it will resume the hunt of Minke whales regardless of any IWC decision. Japan threatens to withdraw from the IWC, thus ending the whaling regime, if concessions aren't made.

The showdown caught everyone off guard. Whaling certainly seems regressive. Haven't people been enlightened enough to end the slaughter of highly intelligent and often endangered marine mammals?

For the most part, yes. Indeed, no IWC nations, Norway and Japan included, call for a return to the commercial "factory ship" whaling that turned the seas red in previous decades. What Japan and Norway want, and what the IWC ought to consider as a possible refinement of its position, is to lift the ban enough to keep local cultures alive. IWC scientists say the Minke whale is plentiful enough to catch 2,000 a year with no harm to the species. Japan is asking for 550; Norway says it will take 700.

The demand to lift the ban is symbolic. Whale is rarely a subsistence food. Other fish are available. But Japan and Norway rankle at being dictated to on what they feel is cultural difference. They feel a coterie of US environmental purists have moved the IWC from conservation to rigid preservation.

We applaud efforts to stop killing whales. But if the IWC must concede to show flexibility, this may be temporarily useful. These are concessions for "artisanal whaling" – local, small-scale, where profit is incidental. Tough safeguards and verification must occur. Efforts to end all killing of these extraordinary creatures can go on.

Cultures evolve. Fishing towns might consider the Japanese village Ayukawa, which turned from whaling to harvesting salmon. In the meantime Greenpeace might distribute a new $20 sonar for fishing nets that keeps whales and dolphins away.

LETTERS

A Look at Eritrea After Independence

The article "Prisons of Free Eritrea Still Cage 'Collaborators,' " May 6, unfairly maligns the most stable, decent place in all of Africa.

There are three glaring problems in your coverage:

(1) There is no adequate treatment of the context of Eritrean independence, which is a culmination of a bloody 30-year struggle against one of the most brutal, tyrannical occupations in the world. Those who are detained will likely be charged with very serious crimes. What is remarkable about Eritrea – but not alluded to in the story – is the absence, in the two years since the liberation of their country, of any acts of revenge or violence against Ethiopians; to detain temporarily less than 300 people is hardly unreasonable under the circumstances.

(2) No mention was made of the overwhelming support and affection of the Eritrean people for their leaders. The reason for this support is that the provisional government has improved the lives of everyone in the country and is accountable to its people.

(3) Unlike most of the third world, there is no personality cult in Eritrea. Many Eritreans do not even know what President Isaias Afewerki looks like. The leadership of Eritrea would never countenance the kind of destructive "great-man worship" that predominates elsewhere in Africa. As a result, the people have a real respect for their leaders, which breeds a sense of responsibility among the leadership.

Eritrea is the most promising place in Africa, and probably the most humane. One does not see armed men in the streets of Asmara, one of the safest cities in the world.

One does see the Eritrean people determined to create a free-market democracy and avoid becoming a permanent basket case perpetually on the Western dole. Few who know the Eritreans doubt that they will succeed. Perhaps that bothers Western pundits who are used to a different model in Africa.

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Subcommittee on Africa

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published, subject to condensation, and none acknowledged. Please fax letters to (617) 450-2317 or address them to "Readers Write," One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115.